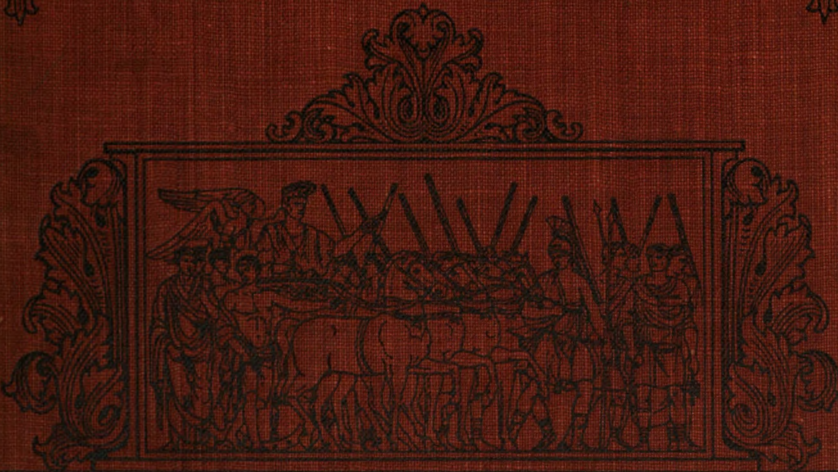
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TACITUS

AGRICOLA

J. W. E. PEARCE



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THE AGRICOLA OF TACITUS

EDITED

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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G. W. Wilson & Co., photo.]

Roman Camp at Ardoch, Perthshire.

BELL'S ILLUSTRATED CLASSICS

INTERMEDIATE SERIES

THE AGRICOLA OF TACITUS

PREFACE

I HAVE made great use of Mr. Furneaux's edition of the *Agricola*. Other works (beyond those mentioned in the Introduction and Notes) that I have found suggestive are Constans' *Étude sur la langue de Tacite,* Asbach's *Römisches Kaisertum und Verfassung bis auf Trajan*, and a little edition of the *Agricola* by Seiler.

I must thank Mr. C. R. Haines, of Uppingham School, for many corrections and suggestions; Mr. S. Walker, of University College School, for the map of Roman Britain; and the Rev. E. S. Leverton, Headmaster of Kirkham Grammar School, for help in revising the proofs.

It is hoped that the numerous illustrations and the examples of inscriptions may stimulate students to try to estimate for themselves the bearing of their local antiquities on the history of the Roman occupation of Britain.

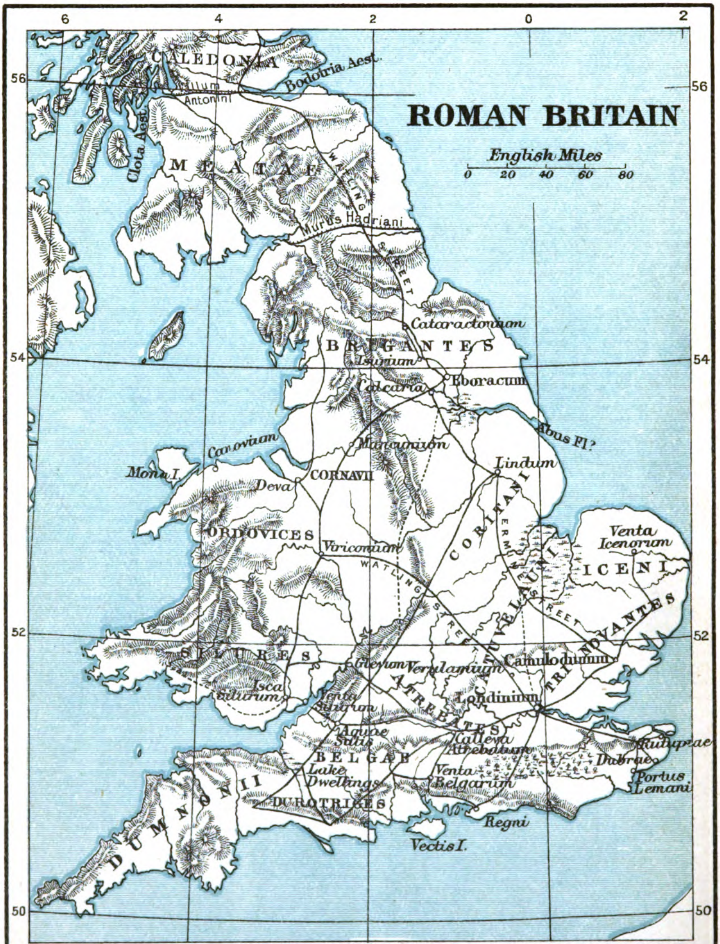
I must just mention here—what it would be unpardonable to overlook altogether—the claim of the Kaim of Kinprunes to be the site of the battle of the Mons Graupius. Probably not many schoolboys will need the reference to Scott's *Antiquary*, ch. iv, for Mr. Oldbuck's famous argument.

J. W. E. P.

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Note—The two subjects in the Guildhall Museum have been drawn and reproduced by permission of the Library Committee of the Corporation of London.



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INTRODUCTION

LIFE OF TACITUS.

WE know but few certain facts in the life of the greatest Roman historian. Occasional scanty autobiographical notices in his works, some letters of his friend Pliny the Younger, and an inscription lately found at Mylasa in Caria, and accepted by good authorities as referring to our Tacitus, form the bulk of our information as to the man apart from his writings.

The Mylasa inscription has enabled us to give his full name as P. Cornelius Tacitus; previous to its discovery the *praenomen* was doubtful. His birthplace is conjecturally put at Interamna (Terni) in Umbria from the connexion of this town with the Emperor Tacitus (A. D. 275), who claimed descent from the historian. A better argument for assuming his home to have been in Northern Italy would be his intimate relation to Agricola, Pliny, and Verginius Rufus. Possibly he was of knightly family, and his father the Cornelius Tacitus mentioned by the elder Pliny as procurator of Belgic Gaul. His grandfather may have been a freedman of the *gens Cornelia.*

The passage in the *Histories* i. 1, in which he briefly sums up his obligations to the Flavian dynasty, helps us to fix the date of his birth. It is as follows:—*dignitatem nostram a Vespasiano inchoatam, a Tito auctam, a Domitiano longius provectam non abnuerim.* That is, under Vespasian he was (probably) a member of the Vigintivirate, which formed a preparatory step to the higher offices; under Titus he attained the quaestorship which gained him admission to the Senate (hence the term *augere dignitatem*); and under

Domitian in A.D. 88 the praetorship, with which a high priestly office was combined. As praetor he presided at the secular games.

If the quaestorship then was gained in 80 or 81, the years of Titus' short rule, Tacitus must have been at least twenty-five years old, and have been born at latest in A.D. 55.

In 78 he married the daughter of Agricola, who was consul in that year. It is conjectured that Tacitus had served as military tribune under his father-in-law during the Aquitanian command of the latter (A.D. 74–77).

Soon after his praetorship he left Rome as *legatus* of a proconsul, or governor of a praetorian province. He was still absent with his wife when Agricola died in A.D. 93.

On his return later in this year, Tacitus seems to have settled down quietly to his duties as senator, indistinguishable from the other senators who submitted themselves to the increasing tyranny of Domitian. He received no further preferment from this emperor, but Nerva, who succeeded in A.D. 95, raised him to the consulship in 97. In 100 he was associated with Pliny in the impeachment of Marius Priscus for misgovernment in his province of Africa, and delivered, we are told, an impressive speech.

It would have been hard to believe that a man of Tacitus' character and abilities should have remained without employment under Trajan. The Mylasa inscription points almost with certainty to his having obtained the proconsulship of Asia. It is true the inscription is mutilated, but it belongs to a well-known type, so that its reconstruction leaves room for the minimum of doubt. Tacitus, then, as a consul of 97 probably held the high appointment of proconsul of Asia – the fit crown of an honourable career – in A.D. 111 or 112.

We do not know when he died. An allusion in the *Annals* (ii. 61) to Trajan's later conquests proves that he was alive towards the end of Trajan's reign (A.D. 117).

We must form our judgement of Tacitus as a man from his writings and his friendships. The *Agricola* itself gives

us the principles by which he regulated his public conduct. Tacitus owed his whole success to the imperial system. He did not belong by birth to the ruling caste of the old *régime*, and it is very unlikely that his genius would have found adequate recognition under the jealous government of the Republican Senate. While, therefore, he deplored the evils of Domitian's times, it is the accidents and not the essential character of the Empire with which he found fault. He wished for a more humane ruler and a less servile Senate—an ideal he realized later in the tempered despotism of Nerva and Trajan. Until that time came he must have acted on the principle for which he claims praise for Agricola—the principle of loyal submission even to a bad sovereign; and if his example was not heroic, it was at least useful in an age which required to be shown how to live, as well as how to die, honourably.

The private virtues of Tacitus are sufficiently revealed in his happy family life, and in the affectionate admiration felt for him by the best of his contemporaries, such as the younger Pliny.

TACITUS IN PLINY'S LETTERS.

The following references to the Letters of Pliny, which are addressed to Tacitus, may be interesting:—

I. 6. Tacitus is not to laugh at Pliny's habit of taking note-books on a hunting expedition. Tacitus may do likewise when he goes hunting.

I. 20. Pliny asks whether brevity is advisable in oratory. He wants a letter from Tacitus to convince him.

IV. 13. Tacitus is to look out for a teacher for Pliny's native place from among the number of literary men whom his talents attract to him.

VI. 9. Tacitus asks Pliny to help Julius Naso's candidature.

VI. 16. The story of Pliny the Elder's death in the eruption of Vesuvius. Tacitus has asked for it in order that he may give a true account to posterity. Pliny says the story will be immortalized by Tacitus.

VI. 20. Pliny tells Tacitus at his request the story of his own escape from the eruption.

VII. 20. The literary brotherhood of Tacitus and Pliny. They will always be mentioned together. Tacitus was *maxime imitabilis, maxime imitandus* by Pliny when a youth.

VII. 33. Tacitus' histories will be immortal. Tacitus is asked to insert an episode in which Pliny showed to advantage in connexion with the prosecution of Baebius (cf. *Agr.* 45. 1).

VIII. 7. Tacitus has sent a book to Pliny for his criticism. Pliny says that he is the *discipulus*, Tacitus the *magister*.

THE WRITINGS OF TACITUS.

Tacitus' earliest work is the *Dialogus de caussis corruptae eloquentiae*, in which he appears as an imitator of Cicero. This suggests the thought that he may have studied rhetoric under Quintilian, who attempted a Ciceronian revival. The work, however, shows some traces of Tacitus' later manner.

His next work, the *Agricola*, was written about the beginning of Trajan's reign (A. D. 98). It represents what is called the Sallustian period of Tacitus' literary development. Besides the numerous imitations of Sallustian diction, which admitted poetical and colloquial elements, the general arrangement of the *Agricola* corresponds closely (with the exception of the epilogue, which is Ciceronian in character) to the form of Sallust's monographs, the *Catiline* and the *Jugurtha*. (See Index, s.v. Sallust, and Introduction, p. xviii, 'Plan of the Agricola.')

The *Germania* was published about the same time. It was a patriotic work, written with the purpose of awakening the Romans to the dangers which threatened them from a hardy and unspoilt nation.

The *Histories*—an account of the reigns of the emperors from Galba to Domitian—were probably published early in Trajan's reign. Of fourteen books, only the first four and part of the fifth remain. They mark a further step in the direction of Tacitus' final style, but do not show the extreme conciseness of the *Annals*.

The *Annals* in sixteen books, of which seven to ten and part of five are lost, give the history of the Empire from the death of Augustus to the death of Nero, at which point the *Histories* begin. From the fact of its mentioning Trajan's later conquests, the work cannot have been published long before the end of Trajan's reign. The style is frankly that of the 'Silver Age,' but, as Cruttwell says in his *History of Roman Literature*, Tacitus 'has glorified it in adopting it.'

THE PURPOSE OF THE 'AGRICOLA.'

First and foremost the *Agricola* is what it professes to be —a biography of a famous man, suggested by affection and sanctioned by custom. If it contains elements more proper to history than biography, such as the preliminary account of the ethnography, geography, and history of Britain, this is probably due to the detailed imitation of Sallust's monographs, and possibly also to the wish to give importance to Agricola's achievements. Agricola is represented as the leading figure in the story of a great conquest, and not merely as the hero of a personal narrative.

Naturally bound up with the subject is an indictment of the cruel circumstances of the age, which made Agricola's virtues and talents a source of danger to himself. The 'moderation' by which he avoided this danger is insisted upon—almost defiantly—by Tacitus as the keynote of Agricola's character, and one of his strongest claims on our admiration.

The emphasis given to this point is noteworthy, and taken in connexion with the date of publication, suggests that the work had an immediate political aim. Agricola's conduct is contrasted with the ostentatious and futile opposition of others who had fallen victims to Domitian's tyranny, and whose friends saw in the death of the conciliatory Nerva and the accession of a new emperor the longed-for opportunity of vengeance on the ministers and abettors of that tyranny. Adherents of the dominant Stoic philo-

sophy, which had supplied so many martyrs to Domitian, in particular would have little sympathy with that 'moderation' which had bowed before the storm. The *Agricola* (cf. ch. 42, end) is an answer to this party, not only in the name of Agricola, but of Tacitus himself, and Trajan, and all other men of high character and position, who had found safety under the late tyranny by taking the 'moderate' course and adapting themselves to circumstances which they were powerless to alter.

Agricola and Domitian.

Tacitus has made it easier for us to be overkind to the memory of Agricola than just to that of Domitian. In Agricola he has given us a charming portrait of a most estimable character. But are we to agree with him that Agricola's military services were so conspicuous that Domitian was not justified in recalling him, even when his command had reached more than double the length of the usual British command? We are compelled to admit that in his seven campaigns little of permanent value was accomplished. Agricola's position was a difficult one, and demanded the qualities of an administrator even more than those of a general. The thorough Romanizing of previous conquests should have preceded a further advance into difficult country. Agricola did not altogether lose sight of this point of view (cf. ch. 18–21); up to the end of his second campaign the work of judicious organization proceeded by means of the accustomed Roman methods of planting garrisons, constructing roads, and undermining the virility of the national character by the seductive influence of a more luxurious civilization. But from A. D. 80 onwards the progress of the Roman arms was too rapid to allow of thoroughness. We cannot fail to see, even from Tacitus' partial narrative, that the spirit of adventure got the better of Agricola's sober judgement, and led him into expeditions on which the troops were sorely harassed, without gaining any advantages to compensate the expenditure of men and money. After the

barren victory at the Mons Graupius in 84 Agricola was recalled. York remained the most northerly point secured in these campaigns.

Historians are pretty well agreed that Domitian's perception of the uselessness of these costly campaigns, and not envy, was the motive of Agricola's recall. There was, indeed, little for Domitian to envy. Agricola's seven years' command, with a powerful army and navy at his disposal, had resulted in the acquisition of no fresh military post secured by connexion with the sea. He left the Caledonians still unconquered and the Brigantes in revolt [1].

Domitian had no amiable qualities; but this fact should not blind us to his undoubted ability as a ruler, or lead us to give too uncritical a belief to tales of motiveless cruelty, such as the assassination of a subject as loyal and as poor as Agricola was. Domitian was heartless, but cruel from policy rather than from caprice. He was intensely ambitious, and had early tasted the sweets of power in the first days of his father's rule. From those days till the death of Titus he had been studiously kept in the background, probably from fear of his ambitious temperament. When at last he reached the throne he was embittered by long neglect. He was resolved that his rule should be absolute. With him the repression of the Senate became a system. It seems fair to say that he showed himself energetic and capable in the conduct of affairs in war and peace, but that the growing opposition of the Senate forced him to look for support to the populace and the soldiers. The expense of games and largesses led to murder and confiscation. Increasing tyranny brought with it increased suspicion. He abandoned himself to the influence of wretches like the informers Metius, Messalinus, and Baebius, and his last years were a Reign of Terror. Hence the aristocratic hatred which manifested itself at the time in conspiracies, and has pursued Domitian's memory in the pages of Tacitus and Pliny with charges of crimes real and imagined, or at least unproven.

[1] Schiller, *Geschichte der Römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. i. p. 527.

The Development of 'Silver Latin.'

When we come to Tacitus from the great writers of the Golden Age of Latin prose, we are struck at once by important differences both of language and style. In Cicero the language was distinguished by extreme purity, obtained by the strict avoidance of poetical and colloquial elements. The form in which this language was presented was the period—the logical grouping of accessory ideas as clauses round the main idea conveyed in the principal sentence. Order, symmetry, and a sonorous rhythm were characteristics of 'golden' Latin Prose, and in the hands of a master like Cicero it possessed a flexibility which fitted it for all the uses of oratorical and philosophical prose.

To adapt this language to history was the work of Livy. His History of Rome—a great prose epic, as Livy treated it—dealing with the whole play of human action and motive, had much of the picturesqueness and emotional quality of poetry, and Livy, while adhering in the main to the Ciceronian standard of syntax and style, allowed himself a greater freedom of construction when his artistic sense demanded it. Now and then the purity of the language is sacrificed, but in general Livy gains force and conciseness from his innovations.

In the hundred years that elapsed between Livy and Tacitus the older ideal of a pure prose diction and a stately periodic form had disappeared, except with a few writers like Pliny the Younger, Quintilian, and Tacitus himself in his earliest work, the *Dialogus*. But fortunately Tacitus saw in time that the attempt to resuscitate the Ciceronian period only resulted in more or less frigid imitation, and in his succeeding works we see him gradually perfecting his own style in accordance with the tendencies of the age—tendencies as old as Sallust, but now having a much wider scope, owing in the main to two causes.

(1) The popularity of Vergil's poems caused them to have a great influence upon prose. The Vergilian form of sen-

tence, enlarged by apposition or by participles instead of by clauses, sent the period out of fashion; while poetical words and constructions were borrowed or imitated in the alien sphere of prose.

(2) The cramping conditions of the Empire, which repressed originality of action and the free expression of thought, led to an exaggerated rivalry in language. Every trick of style that might score a point—antithesis, conciseness, both excellent in their place, but not always in place—was employed with wearisome persistency. Cleverness in detail instead of artistic proportion in the whole marks the prose of the Silver Age—the age not of law, like the Golden Age, but of lawlessness.

The Style of Tacitus.

In the *Dialogus*, as we have seen, Tacitus imitated Cicero. His finished style, seen in the *Annals*, is poetic and rhetorical, in accordance with the tendency of his times; but in his hands it became the most perfect instrument of his thought.

Its concise and trenchant rhetoric serves to expose with merciless sarcasm the motives of a corrupt *régime*; its poetical qualities enable it to portray with bold incisive strokes the dramatic moments of the tragedies of the Early Empire.

Brevity, variety, and poetical colour, instead of the fullness, symmetry, and severe purism of Cicero, are the characteristics of Tacitus' style. His brevity is seen in his preference for the non-periodic sentence, his ellipses, his use of asyndeton and zeugma, his substitution of flexion or phrases for clauses.

His variety is seen in his frequent co-ordination of simple cases with prepositional phrases. The *Agricola* being an early work has this variety less strongly marked than the later works.

His poetical colour is seen in his use of words and con-

structions not found in the prose of the Golden Age; in his use of bold personification and metaphor, but more especially in his dramatic descriptions and vivid word-pictures, of which the *Agricola* (ch. 37. 2-3) offers a striking instance.

Plan of the 'Agricola' compared with that of Sallust's 'Catiline' and 'Jugurtha.'

I. Preface, c. 1-3.
  Cf. *Cat.* 1-4; *Jug.* 1-4.

II. Biography.
  A. Early life of Agricola up to his British campaigns, c. 4-9. Cf. *Cat.* 5, 15-19; *Jug.* 7-16.
  B. British campaigns of Agricola.
    1. Preface.
      (i) Description of Britain, c. 10-12.
        Cf. *Jug.* 17-19.
      (ii) Roman operations in Britain before Agricola's arrival, c. 13-17.
    2. Main narrative of Agricola's campaigns, c. 18-38.
        Cf. main narrative of *Cat.* and *Jug.*
      [*Episodes*, c. 24, 28. Cf. *Cat.* 38-9; *Jug.* 41-2.
      Speeches, c. 30-4. Cf. *Cat.* 51-2, 58; *Jug.* 85, 102, 110.
      Decisive battle, c. 35-8. Cf. *Cat.* 59-60; *Jug.* 101.]
  C. Agricola's recall, retirement, and death, c. 39-45. 2.

III. Peroration, c. 45. 3-46.
  This part alone has no prototype in Sallust's works.

Sketch of the Roman Occupation of Britain.

1. *Before Agricola's governorship.* The conquest of Britain was undertaken by the Romans to round off and secure their conquest of Gaul.

In B.C. 54 and 55 Julius Caesar invaded Britain rather by way of a 'demonstration' than an attempted conquest. For a hundred years after this, Rome's interference with Britain went no further than diplomacy, which aimed at

preventing danger from Britain by fostering internal jealousies. But the ultimate necessity of reducing Britain to the safer status of a province was never lost sight of by Roman statesmen. In A. D. 43 the Emperor Claudius took up the work in earnest by dispatching a large force to Britain under Aulus Plautius. The following is a list of the Roman governors of Britain up to Agricola's arrival:—

A. Plautius (A. D. 43–47). Taking Winchester (Venta) as his base, he pushed the line of conquest as far as Colchester (Camulodunum) in the east and the Bristol Channel in the west. Britain was declared a Roman province, and the task of Romanizing the island was begun.

Ostorius Scapula (A. D. 47–52). He moved forward his camp in the west between the Avon and the Severn. In the east he fought against the Iceni and Trinobantes, and established Camulodunum as a military colony.

He attacked the Silures of S. Wales, who still held out, and took their leader, Caratacus, prisoner, but did not succeed in ending the war.

Didius Gallus (A.D. 52–57) and *Veranius* (A.D. 58) had no great wars, but under them the work of consolidation was steadily going on.

Suetonius Paulinus (A.D. 59–61) reached Lincoln (Lindum) in the east and Chester (Castra) in the west. In A.D. 60 he crossed over into Anglesea (Mona), the head-quarters of Druidism, leaving only one legion—the ninth—to keep watch in the east. The result was the terrible revolt under Boudicca, which was not crushed till Camulodunum, Londinium, and Verulamium had been sacked by the insurgents.

The causes of the rebellion were not so much isolated acts of oppression as the national hatred of the growing Roman power. In ten years after the establishment of the first Roman colony there were 100,000 Roman citizens in the land. The worship of the emperor was threatening the supremacy of the native gods. A network of roads, secured by fortresses, was springing up through the South of Britain for the

furtherance of the traffic in tin and lead; and, worst of all, the curse of Rome's subjects – the *negotiatores*—were ruining the finances of the country.

Petronius Turpilianus, Trebellius Maximus, and *Vettius Bolanus* (A. D. 61–71) made no further advance. The pacification of the island after the rebellion gave work enough for a time, and then came the civil wars, during which the operations in Britain were at a standstill. On the settlement of the Empire by Vespasian in A. D. 71 an energetic policy was again adopted.

Q. Petilius Cerialis (A. D. 71–74) subdued part of the Brigantes.

Julius Frontinus (A. D. 74–77) put an end at last to the resistance of the Silures in South Wales.

2. *During Agricola's term of office.* Agricola had already seen considerable service in Britain—as military tribune under Paulinus, and *legatus* of the 20th legion under Bolanus and Cerialis, before Vespasian appointed him to the governorship of the island in succession to Frontinus. The account given by Tacitus of Agricola's campaigns is vague in the extreme. No modern conjectures can attain certainty, but a critical investigation of existing Roman remains in Scotland and an intimate knowledge of the strategical possibilities of the localities near the Clyde and the Forth may combine to give highly interesting results. Sir J. H. Ramsay has worked out the subject very thoroughly in his *Foundations of England,* to which I am indebted for the following account of Agricola's Scottish campaigns:—

A. D. 78. Reduction of the Ordovices and Mona. This leaves Agricola free for his northern advance. The winter is spent in carrying out administrative reforms.

A. D. 79. Agricola is probably occupied in reducing the north of what is now England. This is presupposed by his advance in the following year. He establishes garrisons; perhaps on the line between the Solway and the Tyne.

A. D. 80. He advances through hitherto unknown tribes to the 'Tanaus' (see note on 22. 1). This seems to have been across the Border.

A. D. 81. He consolidates his previous conquests and occupies the isthmus between the Clyde and the Forth.

As to the line of advance in A. D. 80-81, there are advocates for the east and for the west routes. A simultaneous advance on both sides would imply that he had larger forces at his disposal than he can have had. Of his four legions (about 20,000 men) and their complement of auxiliary forces (about 25,000 men) he must have left the greater part to garrison Britain, and in the battle against the Caledonians he seems to have had 8,000 auxiliaries and considerably fewer legionaries—about 12,000 or 13,000 in all.

Furneaux thinks it likely he took the west route, (1) because of the prominent mention of estuaries among the difficulties of his march; (2) because, if Cerialis had advanced in the east, it would be natural for Agricola to march against the unsubdued Britons of the west; and (3) because his previous operations in the west (ch. 18) might suggest that his forces had wintered in Chester.

Sir J. H. Ramsay believes that he took the east route, (1) because that was the route taken by almost all invaders from the South, (2) because it would be a shorter journey to the Forth, and (3) because he would bring himself earlier into communication with his fleet. He thinks the Tanaus may be the Tyne.

A. D. 82. Agricola explores the west of Scotland where it faces Ireland. He plans the invasion of Ireland.

A. D. 83. The danger from the tribes north of his scientific frontier of the Clyde and Forth leads him to attempt to intimidate them by a simultaneous invasion by land and sea. The employment of his navy points to the coast of Fife, with its convenient landing-places, as the scene of his operations. The Caledonian tribes muster and attack Agricola's forts west of the Tay. Leaving the forts to

hold their own, he advances in three divisions parallel with the Tay into the flat country north of the river, now left open by the native attack on his western forts. He establishes a camp at Cupar Angus, another rather to the south-east at Lintrose, and a third in the south-west to command the passage of the Tay. The enemy, abandoning their western expedition, attack the ninth legion in the second camp by night, but Agricola hastens from a place near Cupar Angus and takes them between two fires. The barbarians are dispersed, and Agricola returns into winter quarters.

A.D. 84. A series of camps of a size that would suit Agricola's presumed strength of about 12,000 men seems to show that his advance lay through Ardoch, Perth, Gray's Wells, Lintrose, Cupar Angus, and stopped at Delvine, where the battle of the Mons Graupius probably took place. The Caledonians under Calgacus are defeated. Agricola orders his fleet to sail round the north of Britain.

A.D. 85. Agricola is recalled.

3. *After Agricola's recall.* A.D. 120. Hadrian has a wall built between the Tyne and the Solway.

A.D. 139. The Brigantes break bounds and are subdued by Lollius Urbicus. The wall of Antoninus Pius is built between the Clyde and the Forth.

A.D. 208. The tribes again break out. Severus advances northwards in person, with the result that the province is secured as far as the Tay.

A.D. 287. Carausius, a Menapian in the service of the Romans, who was appointed to check the piracy of the Saxons, revolts and is recognized as co-emperor.

A.D. 296. Allectus the murderer and successor of Carausius is defeated and slain in a battle fought with Constantius Chlorus, who reunites Britain to the Roman Empire.

A.D. 297. Diocletian divides Roman Britain into four provinces: Prima, Secunda, Flavia Caesariensis, and Maxima Caesariensis. A fifth province—Valentia—was subsequently added.

A. D. 360. The Picts and Scots invade the province as far as Hadrian's wall.

A. D. 364. They invade the Romanized South Britain.

A. D. 368. Theodosius is sent against them, and re-establishes the stations along the line of the Clyde and the Forth.

A. D. 409. The Romans are compelled by dangers threatening them at home to abandon Britain.



ROMAN CLASP KNIFE FOUND AT SILCHESTER.



PART OF THE ROMAN WALL. (Cudy's Craig, Northumberland.) *G. W. Wilson & Co., photo.*

CORNELII TACITI

DE VITA ET MORIBUS

IULII AGRICOLAE

LIBER

I

Biographical writing was held in high esteem of old.

Clarorum virorum facta moresque posteris tradere,
antiquitus usitatum, ne nostris quidem temporibus
quamquam incuriosa suorum aetas omisit, quotiens
magna aliqua ac nobilis virtus vicit ac supergressa est
vitium parvis magnisque civitatibus commune, igno-
rantiam recti et invidiam. sed apud priores ut agere 2
digna memoratu pronum magisque in aperto erat, ita
celeberrimus quisque ingenio ad prodendam virtutis
memoriam sine gratia aut ambitione bonae tantum
conscientiae pretio ducebatur. ac plerique suam ipsi 3
vitam narrare fiduciam potius morum quam adrogan-
tiam arbitrati sunt, nec id Rutilio et Scauro citra
fidem aut obtrectationi fuit: adeo virtutes isdem tem-
poribus optime aestimantur, quibus facillime gig-
nuntur. at nunc narraturo mihi vitam defuncti 4
hominis venia opus fuit, quam non petissem incusa-
turus. tam saeva et infesta virtutibus tempora.

II

Under Domitian biographers of famous men were put to death.

Legimus, cum Aruleno Rustico Paetus Thrasea, Herennio Senecioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent, capitale fuisse, neque in ipsos modo auctores, sed in libros quoque eorum saevitum, delegato triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum
2 in comitio ac foro urerentur. scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani et libertatem senatus et conscientiam generis humani aboleri arbitrabantur, expulsis insuper sapientiae professoribus atque omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret.
3 dedimus profecto grande patientiae documentum; et sicut vetus aetas vidit quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute, adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi audiendique commercio. memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissemus, si tam in nostra potestate esset oblivisci quam tacere.

III

Slow recovery of literature even under the good rule of Trajan. The 'Agricola'—such as it is—shall bear witness to our present happiness and be a dutiful memorial of a dear relative.

Nunc demum redit animus; set quamquam primo statim beatissimi saeculi ortu Nerva Caesar res olim dissociabiles miscuerit, principatum ac libertatem, augeatque quotidie felicitatem temporum Nerva Traianus, nec spem modo ac votum securitas publica, sed ipsius voti fiduciam ac robur adsumpserit, natura tamen infirmitatis humanae tardiora sunt remedia quam mala; et ut corpora nostra lente augescunt, cito

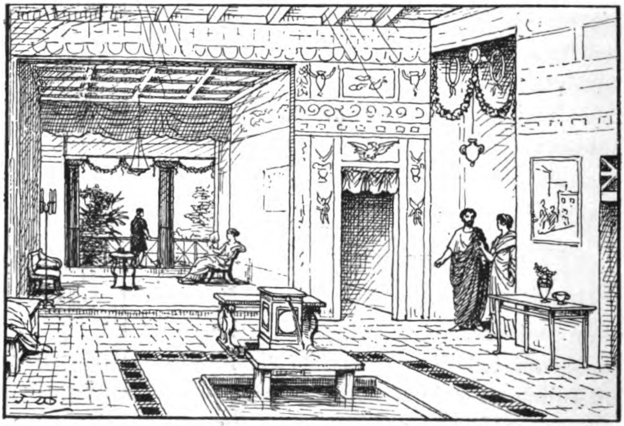
extinguuntur, sic ingenia studiaque oppresseris facilius quam revocaveris: subit quippe etiam ipsius inertiae dulcedo, et invisa primo desidia postremo amatur.
quid? si per quindecim annos, grande mortalis aevi 2
spatium, multi fortuitis casibus, promptissimus quisque saevitia principis interciderunt, pauci, ut ita dixerim, non modo aliorum sed etiam nostri superstites sumus, exemptis e media vita tot annis, quibus iuvenes ad senectutem, senes prope ad ipsos exactae aetatis terminos per silentium venimus. non tamen 3
pigebit vel incondita ac rudi voce memoriam prioris servitutis ac testimonium praesentium bonorum composuisse. hic interim liber honori Agricolae soceri 4
mei destinatus, professione pietatis aut laudatus erit aut excusatus.

IV

Early life and education of Agricola.

Gnaeus Iulius Agricola, vetere et inlustri Foroiuliensium colonia ortus, utrumque avum procuratorem Caesarum habuit, quae equestris nobilitas est. pater illi Iulius Graecinus senatorii ordinis, studio eloquentiae sapientiaeque notus, iisque ipsis virtutibus iram Gai Caesaris meritus: namque M. Silanum accusare iussus et, quia abnuerat, interfectus est. mater Iulia 2
Procilla fuit, rarae castitatis. in huius sinu indulgentiaque educatus per omnem honestarum artium cultum pueritiam adulescentiamque transegit. arcebat 3
eum ab inlecebris peccantium praeter ipsius bonam integramque naturam, quod statim parvulus sedem ac magistram studiorum Massiliam habuit, locum Graeca comitate et provinciali parsimonia mixtum ac bene

4 compositum. memoria teneo solitum ipsum narrare se prima in iuventa studium philosophiae acrius, ultra quam concessum Romano ac senatori, hausisse, ni prudentia matris incensum ac flagrantem animum
5 coercuisset. scilicet sublime et erectum ingenium pulchritudinem ac speciem magnae excelsaeque gloriae vehementius quam caute adpetebat. mox mitigavit ratio et aetas, retinuitque, quod est difficillimum, ex sapientia modum.



THE ATRIUM AND TABLINUM OF A ROMAN HOUSE.
(From a restoration of a Pompeian house.)

V

His conscientious service as military tribune under Paulinus in Britain.

Prima castrorum rudimenta in Britannia Suetonio Paulino, diligenti ac moderato duci, adprobavit, electus
2 quem contubernio aestimaret. nec Agricola licenter, more iuvenum, qui militiam in lasciviam vertunt,

neque segniter ad voluptates et commeatus titulum tribunatus et inscitiam rettulit: sed noscere provinciam, nosci exercitui, discere a peritis, sequi optimos, nihil adpetere in iactationem, nihil ob formidinem recusare simulque et anxius et intentus agere. non 3
sane alias exercitatior magisque in ambiguo Britannia fuit: trucidati veterani, incensae coloniae, intercepti exercitus; tum de salute, mox de victoria certavere. quae cuncta etsi consiliis ductuque alterius agebantur, 4
ac summa rerum et reciperatae provinciae gloria in ducem cessit, artem et usum et stimulos addidere iuveni, intravitque animum militaris gloriae cupido, ingrata temporibus, quibus sinistra erga eminentes interpretatio nec minus periculum ex magna fama quam ex mala.

VI

His marriage; quaestorship, tribuneship, and praetorship.

Hinc ad capessendos magistratus in urbem digressus Domitiam Decidianam, splendidis natalibus ortam, sibi iunxit; idque matrimonium ad maiora nitenti decus ac robur fuit. vixeruntque mira concordia, per mutuam caritatem et in vicem se anteponendo, nisi quod in bona uxore tanto maior laus, quanto in mala plus culpae est. sors quaesturae provinciam Asiam, 2
pro consule Salvium Titianum dedit, quorum neutro corruptus est, quamquam et provincia dives ac parata peccantibus, et pro consule in omnem aviditatem pronus quantalibet facilitate redempturus esset mutuam dissimulationem mali. auctus est ibi filia, in sub- 3
sidium simul et solacium; nam filium ante sublatum brevi amisit. mox inter quaesturam ac tribunatum plebis atque ipsum etiam tribunatus annum quiete et

otio transiit, gnarus sub Nerone temporum, quibus
4 inertia pro sapientia fuit. idem praeturae tenor et silentium; nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat. ludos et inania honoris medio moderationis atque abundantiae
5 duxit, uti longe a luxuria, ita famae propior. tum electus a Galba ad dona templorum recognoscenda diligentissima cônquisitione effecit, ne cuius alterius sacrilegium res publica quam Neronis sensisset.



Roman Lady. (From a statue.)

VII

Murder of his mother by Otho's soldiery. He joins Vespasian, and is appointed to command the XXth legion in Britain.

Sequens annus gravi vulnere animum domumque
2 eius adflixit. nam classis Othoniana licenter vaga dum Intimilium (Liguriae pars est) hostiliter populatur, matrem Agricolae in praediis suis interfecit, praediaque ipsa et magnam patrimonii partem diripuit, quae
3 causa caedis fuerat. igitur ad sollemnia pietatis profectus Agricola, nuntio adfectati a Vespasiano imperii deprehensus ac statim in partes transgressus est.
4 initia principatus ac statum urbis Mucianus regebat,

iuvene admodum Domitiano et ex paterna fortuna
tantum licentiam usurpante. is missum ad dilectus 5
agendos Agricolam integreque ac strenue versatum
vicensimae legioni tarde ad sacramentum transgressae
praeposuit, ubi decessor seditiose agere narrabatur:
quippe legatis quoque consularibus nimia ac formido-
losa erat, nec legatus praetorius ad cohibendum potens,
incertum suo an militum ingenio. ita successor simul 6
et ultor electus rarissima moderatione maluit videri
invenisse bonos quam fecisse.

VIII

His valuable qualities as a soldier recognized by Cerialis.

Praeerat tunc Britanniae Vettius Bolanus, placidius
quam feroci provincia dignum est. temperavit Agri-
cola vim suam ardoremque compescuit, ne incresceret,
peritus obsequi eruditusque utilia honestis miscere.
brevi deinde Britannia consularem Petilium Cerialem 2
accepit. habuerunt virtutes spatium exemplorum, sed
primo Cerialis labores modo et discrimina, mox et
gloriam communicabat: saepe parti exercitus in ex-
perimentum, aliquando maioribus copiis ex eventu
praefecit. nec Agricola umquam in suam famam 3
gestis exsultavit: ad auctorem ac ducem ut minister
fortunam referebat. ita virtute in obsequendo, vere-
cundia in praedicando extra invidiam nec extra gloriam
erat.

IX

He is made governor of Aquitania, and shows high administrative powers. His consulship and appointment to the governorship of Britain.

Revertentem ab legatione legionis divus Vespasianus inter patricios adscivit; ac deinde provinciae Aqui-

taniae praeposuit, splendidae inprimis dignitatis ad-
2 ministratione ac spe consulatus, cui destinarat. credunt
plerique militaribus ingeniis subtilitatem deesse, quia
castrensis iurisdictio secura
et obtusior ac plura manu
agens calliditatem fori non
exerceat. Agricola naturali
prudentia, quamvis inter
togatos, facile iusteque age-
3 bat. iam vero tempora
curarum remissionumque
divisa: ubi conventus ac
iudicia poscerent, gravis
intentus severus, et saepius
misericors: ubi officio satis
factum, nulla ultra pote-
statis persona; [tristitiam
et adrogantiam et avari-
4 tiam exuerat.] nec illi,
quod est rarissimum, aut
facilitas auctoritatem aut
severitas amorem demi-
nuit. integritatem atque
abstinentiam in tanto viro
referre iniuria virtutum
5 fuerit. ne famam quidem,
cui saepe etiam boni indulgent, ostentanda virtute aut
per artem quaesivit: procul ab aemulatione adversus
collegas, procul a contentione adversus procuratores
et vincere inglorium et atteri sordidum arbitrabatur.
6 minus triennium in ea legatione detentus ac statim
ad spem consulatus revocatus est, comitante opinione
Britanniam ei provinciam dari, nullis in hoc suis



Statue of a Roman Warrior found in a bastion of the London Wall. (In the Guildhall Museum.)

sermonibus, sed quia par videbatur. haud semper 7 errat fama; aliquando et elegit. consul egregiae tum spei filiam iuveni mihi despondit ac post consulatum collocavit, et statim Britanniae praepositus est, adiecto pontificatus sacerdotio.

X

Description of Britain; its geographical position, &c.

Britanniae situm populosque multis scriptoribus memoratos non in comparationem curae ingeniive referam, sed quia tum primum perdomita est: ita quae priores nondum comperta eloquentia percoluere, rerum fide tradentur. Britannia, insularum quas Ro- 2
mana notitia complectitur maxima, spatio ac caelo in orientem Germaniae, in occidentem Hispaniae obtenditur, Gallis in meridiem etiam inspicitur; septentrionalia eius, nullis contra terris, vasto atque aperto mari pulsantur. formam totius Britanniae Livius 3
veterum, Fabius Rusticus recentium eloquentissimi auctores oblongae scutulae vel bipenni adsimulavere. et est ea facies citra Caledoniam, unde et in universum 4
fama; sed transgressis inmensum et enorme spatium procurrentium extremo iam litore terrarum velut in cuneum tenuatur. hanc oram novissimi maris tunc 5
primum Romana classis circumvecta insulam esse Britanniam adfirmavit, ac simul incognitas ad id tempus insulas, quas Orcadas vocant, invenit domuitque. di- 6
specta est et Thule, quia hactenus iussum: et hiems adpetebat. sed mare pigrum et grave remigantibus perhibent ne ventis quidem perinde attolli, credo quod rariores terrae montesque, causa ac materia tempe-

statum, et profunda moles continui maris tardius im-
7 pellitur. naturam Oceani atque aestus neque quaerere huius operis est, ac multi rettulere: unum addiderim,



ROMAN WAR-SHIPS.

nusquam latius dominari mare, multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, nec litore tenus adcrescere aut resorberi, sed influere penitus atque ambire, et iugis etiam ac montibus inseri velut in suo.

XI

Description of its inhabitants—Caledonians, Silurians, and Gauls.

Ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint,
indigenae an advecti, ut inter barbaros parum com-
pertum. habitus corporum varii atque ex eo argu-
menta. namque rutilae Caledoniam habitantium 2
comae, magni artus Germanicam originem adseverant; Silurum colorati vultus, torti plerumque crines et posita contra Hispania Hiberos veteres traiecisse easque sedes occupasse fidem faciunt; proximi Gallis et similes sunt, seu durante originis vi, seu procurrentibus in diversa terris positio caeli corporibus habi-
tum dedit. in uni- 3
versum tamen aestimanti Gallos vicinam insulam
occupasse credibile est. eorum sacra deprehendas 4
ac superstitionum persuasiones; sermo haud multum
diversus, in deposcendis periculis eadem audacia et,
ubi advenere, in detrectandis eadem formido. plus 5
tamen ferociae Britanni praeferunt, ut quos nondum



Druids.
(From a bas-relief found at Autun.)

longa pax emollierit. nam Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse accepimus; mox segnitia cum otio intravit, amissa virtute pariter ac libertate. quod Britannorum olim victis evenit: ceteri manent quales Galli fuerunt.



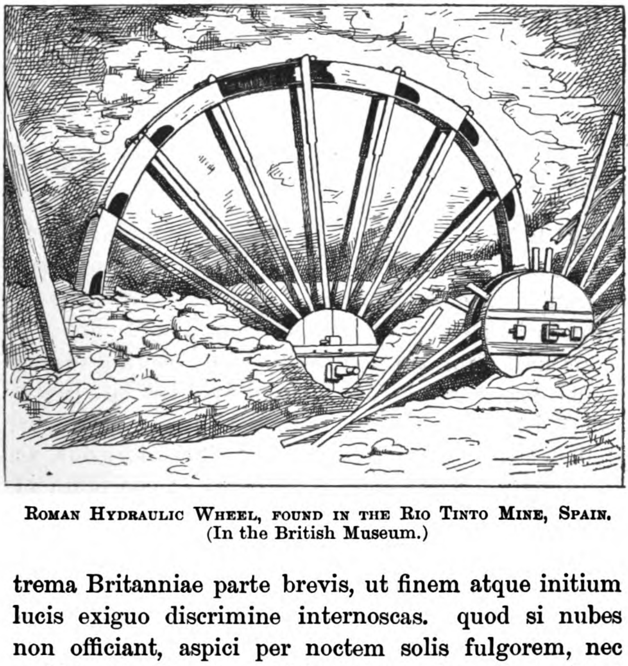
Ancient British Man and Woman.
(From descriptions and antiquarian discoveries of the period.)

XII

Description of the modes of warfare and political conditions of the Britons: their tribal isolation. Climate, length of days, products.

In pedite robur; quaedam nationes et curru proeliantur. honestior auriga, clientes propugnant. olim regibus parebant, nunc per principes factionibus et

studiis distrahuntur. nec aliud adversus validissimas 2
gentis pro nobis utilius quam quod in commune non consulunt. rarus duabus tribusve civitatibus ad propulsandum commune periculum conventus: ita singuli pugnant, universi vincuntur. caelum crebris imbribus 3
ac nebulis foedum; asperitas frigorum abest. dierum spatia ultra nostri orbis mensuram; nox clara et ex-



Roman Hydraulic Wheel, found in the Rio Tinto Mine, Spain.
(In the British Museum.)

trema Britanniae parte brevis, ut finem atque initium lucis exiguo discrimine internoscas. quod si nubes 4
non officiant, aspici per noctem solis fulgorem, nec occidere et exsurgere, sed transire adfirmant. scilicet extrema et plana terrarum humili umbra non erigunt tenebras, infraque caelum et sidera nox cadit. solum 5
praeter oleam vitemque et cetera calidioribus terris

oriri sueta patiens frugum, fecundum: tarde mitescunt, cito proveniunt; eademque utriusque rei causa,
6 multus umor terrarum caelique. fert Britannia aurum et argentum et alia metalla, pretium victoriae. gignit
7 et Oceanus margarita, sed subfusca ac liventia. quidam artem abesse legentibus arbitrantur; nam in rubro mari viva ac spirantia saxis avelli, in Britannia, prout expulsa sint, colligi: ego facilius crediderim naturam margaritis deesse quam nobis avaritiam.

XIII

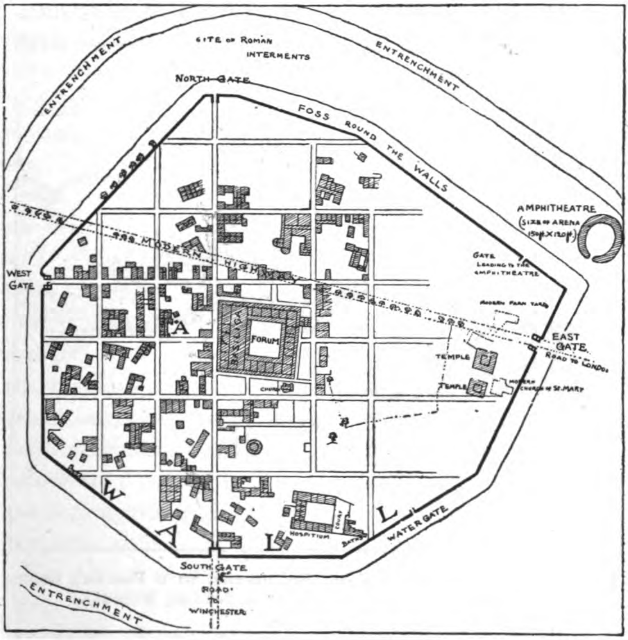
The Britons make good subjects but bad slaves. Expeditions against Britain by J. Caesar and Claudius.

Ipsi Britanni dilectum ac tributa et iniuncta imperii munera impigre obeunt, si iniuriae absint: has aegre tolerant, iam domiti ut pareant, nondum ut serviant.
2 igitur primus omnium Romanorum divus Iulius cum exercitu Britanniam ingressus, quamquam prospera pugna terruerit incolas ac litore potitus sit, potest
3 videri ostendisse posteris, non tradidisse. mox bella civilia et in rem publicam versa principum arma, ac longa oblivio Britanniae etiam in pace: consilium id
4 divus Augustus vocabat, Tiberius praeceptum. agitasse Gaium Caesarem de intranda Britannia satis constat, ni velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae, et ingentes adversus Germaniam conatus frustra fuissent.
5 divus Claudius auctor iterati operis, transvectis legionibus auxiliisque et adsumpto in partem rerum Vespasiano, quod initium venturae mox fortunae fuit: domitae gentes, capti reges et monstratus fatis Vespasianus.

XIV

Brief account of the governors of Britain from Plautius to Paulinus.

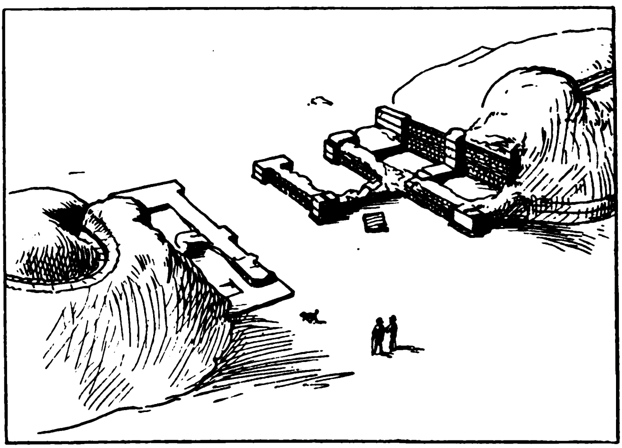
Consularium primus Aulus Plautius praepositus ac subinde Ostorius Scapula, uterque bello egregius:



Plan of Silchester (*Calleva Atrebatum*).

redactaque paulatim in formam provinciae proxima pars Britanniae; addita insuper veteranorum colonia. quaedam civitates Cogidumno regi donatae (is ad 2
nostram usque memoriam fidissimus mansit), vetere ac iam pridem recepta populi Romani consuetudine,

3 ut haberet instrumenta servitutis et reges. mox Didius Gallus parta a prioribus continuit, paucis admodum castellis in ulteriora promotis, per quae fama aucti officii quaereretur. Didium Veranius excepit, isque
4 intra annum extinctus est. Suetonius hinc Paulinus biennio prosperas res habuit, subactis nationibus firmatisque praesidiis; quorum fiducia Monam insulam ut vires rebellibus ministrantem adgressus terga occasioni patefecit.



FOUNDATIONS OF THE WEST GATE, SILCHESTER, WITH PORTER'S LODGE AND LOCK-UP. (From the model in Reading Museum.)

XV

Grievances of the Britons against their rulers.

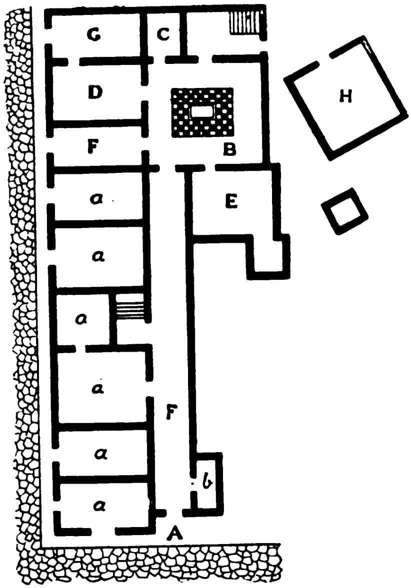
Namque absentia legati remoto metu Britanni agitare inter se mala servitutis, conferre iniurias et interpretando accendere: nihil profici patientia nisi

ut graviora tamquam ex facili tolerantibus imperentur. singulos sibi olim reges fuisse, nunc binos imponi, 2 e quibus legatus in sanguinem, procurator in bona saeviret. aeque discordiam praepositorum, aeque concordiam subiectis exitiosam. alterius manum centuriones, alterius servos vim et contumelias miscere. nihil iam cupiditati, nihil libidini exceptum. in 3 proelio fortiorem esse qui spoliet: nunc ab ignavis plerumque et imbellibus eripi domos, abstrahi liberos, iniungi dilectus, tamquam mori tantum pro patria nescientibus. quantulum enim transisse militum, si 4 sese Britanni numerent? sic Germanias excussisse iugum: et flumine, non Oceano defendi. sibi patriam 5 coniuges parentes, illis avaritiam et luxuriam causas belli esse. recessuros, ut divus Iulius recessisset, modo virtutem maiorum suorum aemularentur. neve proelii unius aut alterius eventu pavescerent: plus impetus, maiorem constantiam penes miseros esse. iam Britannorum etiam deos misereri, qui Romanum 6 ducem absentem, qui relegatum in alia insula exercitum detinerent; iam ipsos, quod difficillimum fuerit, deliberare. porro in eius modi consiliis periculosius esse deprehendi quam audere.

XVI

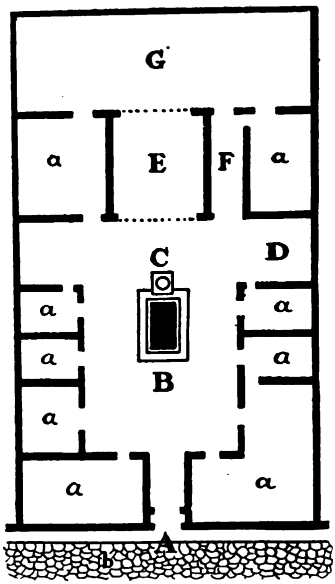
Revolt under Boudicca. Its suppression by Paulinus. Feebleness of succeeding governors.

His atque talibus in vicem instincti, Boudicca generis regii femina duce (neque enim sexum in imperiis discernunt) sumpsere universi bellum; ac sparsos per castella milites consectati, expugnatis praesidiis ipsam coloniam invasere ut sedem servitutis,



Foundations of a Romano-British House in Silchester. (Marked A on the plan on p. 15. From the model in the Museum at Reading.)

A. Front entrance.
B. Atrium with mosaic floor.
C. Wing of atrium, where the altar to the household god was placed.
D. Triclinium (dining-room).
E. Tablinum, warmed by a hypocaust.
F, F. Vestibules.
G. Kitchen, with floor of cement.
H. Detached chamber in Garden, floored with red-tiled tesserae.
a, a, a. Chambers and Shops.
b. Porter's lodge.



Ground-plan of a Roman House. (From Pompeii.)

A. Front entrance.
B. Atrium with impluvium in centre.
C. Household altar.
D. Dining-room.
E. Tablinum.
F. Passage to garden.
G. Garden.
a, a, a. Chambers.
b. Roadway in front of house.

nec ullum in barbaris saevitiae genus omisit ira et victoria. quod nisi Paulinus cognito provinciae motu 2
propere subvenisset, amissa Britannia foret; quam unius proelii fortuna veteri patientiae restituit, tenentibus arma plerisque, quos conscientia defectionis et propius ex legato timor agitabat, ne quamquam egregius cetera adroganter in deditos et ut suae cuiusque iniuriae ultor durius consuleret. missus 3
igitur Petronius Turpilianus tamquam exorabilior et delictis hostium novus eoque paenitentiae mitior, compositis prioribus nihil ultra ausus Trebellio Maximo provinciam tradidit. Trebellius, segnior et nullis 4
castrorum experimentis, comitate quadam curandi provinciam tenuit. didicere iam barbari quoque ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, et interventus civilium armorum praebuit iustam segnitiae excusationem: sed discordia laboratum, cum adsuetus expeditionibus miles otio lasciviret. Trebellius, fuga ac latebris 5
vitata exercitus ira indecorus atque humilis, precario mox praefuit, ac velut pacti, exercitus licentiam, dux salutem, et seditio sine sanguine stetit. nec Vettius 6
Bolanus, manentibus adhuc civilibus bellis, agitavit Britanniam disciplina: eadem inertia erga hostis, similis petulantia castrorum, nisi quod innocens Bolanus et nullis delictis invisus caritatem paraverat loco auctoritatis.

XVII

Renewed energy under Vespasian. Governorships of Cerialis and Frontinus.

Sed ubi cum cetero orbe Vespasianus et Britanniam recuperavit, magni duces, egregii exercitus, minuta hostium spes. et terrorem statim intulit Petilius 2

Cerialis, Brigantium civitatem, quae numerosissima provinciae totius perhibetur, adgressus. multa proelia, et aliquando non incruenta; magnamque Brigantium
3 partem aut victoria amplexus est aut bello. et Cerialis quidem alterius successoris curam famamque obruisset: sustinuit[que] molem Iulius Frontinus, vir magnus, quantum licebat, validamque et pugnacem Silurum gentem armis subegit, super virtutem hostium locorum quoque difficultates eluctatus.

XVIII

Arrival of Agricola (A. D. 78). *Conquest of the Ordovices and Mona.*

Hunc Britanniae statum, has bellorum vices media iam aestate transgressus Agricola invenit, cum et milites velut omissa expeditione ad securitatem et
2 hostes ad occasionem verterentur. Ordovicum civitas haud multo ante adventum eius alam in finibus suis agentem prope universam obtriverat, eoque initio
3 erecta provincia. et quibus bellum volentibus erat, probare exemplum ac recentis legati animum opperiri, cum Agricola, quamquam transvecta aestas, sparsi per provinciam numeri, praesumpta apud militem illius anni quies, tarda et contraria bellum inchoaturo, et plerisque custodiri suspecta potius videbatur, ire obviam discrimini statuit; contractisque legionum vexillis et modica auxiliorum manu, quia in aequum degredi Ordovices non audebant, ipse ante agmen, quo ceteris par animus simili periculo esset,
4 erexit aciem. caesaque prope universa gente, non ignarus instandum famae ac, prout prima cessissent, terrorem ceteris fore, Monam insulam, *a* cuius

possessione revocatum Paulinum rebellione totius Britanniae supra memoravi, redigere in potestatem animo intendit. sed ut in dubiis consiliis naves 5
deerant: ratio et constantia ducis transvexit. depositis omnibus sarcinis lectissimos auxiliarium, quibus nota vada et patrius nandi usus, quo simul seque et arma et equos regunt, ita repente inmisit, ut obstupefacti hostes, qui classem, qui navis, qui mare expectabant, nihil arduum aut invictum crediderint sic ad bellum venientibus. ita petita pace ac dedita insula clarus 6
ac magnus haberi Agricola, quippe cui ingredienti provinciam, quod tempus alii per ostentationem et officiorum ambitum transigunt, labor et periculum placuisset. nec Agricola prosperitate rerum in vani- 7
tatem usus, expeditionem aut victoriam vocabat victos continuisse; ne laureatis quidem gesta prosecutus est, sed ipsa dissimulatione famae famam auxit, aestimantibus quanta futuri spe tam magna tacuisset.

XIX

Conciliatory administration of Agricola. His reforms.

Ceterum animorum provinciae prudens, simulque doctus per aliena experimenta parum profici armis, si iniuriae sequerentur, causas bellorum statuit excidere. a se suisque orsus primum domum suam coercuit, 2
quod plerisque haud minus arduum est quam provinciam regere. nihil per libertos servosque publicae rei, non studiis privatis nec ex commendatione aut precibus centurionem militesve ascire, sed optimum quemque fidissimum putare. omnia scire, non omnia 3
exsequi. parvis peccatis veniam, magnis severitatem commodare; nec poena semper, sed saepius paenitentia

contentus esse; officiis et administrationibus potius non peccaturos praeponere, quam damnare cum pec-
4 cassent. frumenti et tributorum exactionem aequalitate munerum mollire, circumcisis quae in quaestum reperta ipso tributo gravius tolerabantur. namque per ludibrium adsidere clausis horreis et emere
5 ultro frumenta ac ludere pretio cogebantur. devortia itinerum et longinquitas regionum indicebatur, ut



Market in a Forum. (From Pompeian wall-paintings.)

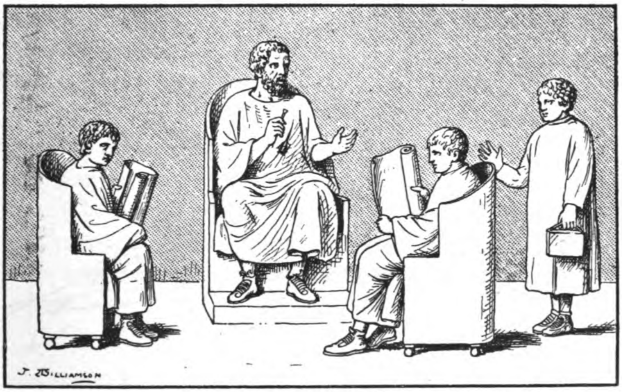
civitates proximis hibernis in remota et avia deferrent, donec quod omnibus in promptu erat paucis lucrosum fieret.

XX

Agricola's second campaign (A. D. 79). *Reduction of several states hitherto independent. He secures his conquests by forts.*

Haec primo statim anno comprimendo egregiam famam paci circumdedit, quae vel incuria vel intole-

rantia priorum haud minus quam bellum timebatur. sed ubi aestas advenit, contracto exercitu multus in 2 agmine, laudare modestiam, disiectos coercere; loca castris ipse capere, aestuaria ac silvas ipse praetemptare; et nihil interim apud hostis quietum pati, quo minus subitis excursibus popularetur; atque ubi satis terruerat, parcendo rursus invitamenta pacis ostentare. quibus rebus multae civitates, quae in illum diem 3 ex aequo egerant, datis obsidibus iram posuere, et



A School in Roman Gaul. (From a bas-relief in the Museum at Trèves.)

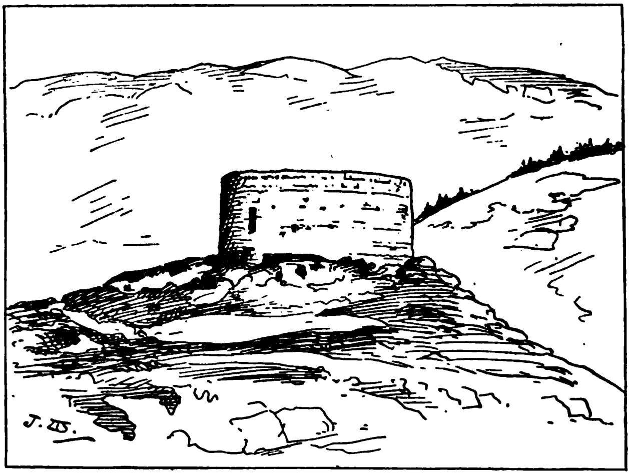
praesidiis castellisque circumdatae sunt tanta ratione curaque, ut nulla ante Britanniae nova pars *pariter* illacessita transierit.

XXI

Winter of A. D. 79 *spent in Romanizing the country.*

Sequens hiems saluberrimis consiliis absumpta. namque ut homines dispersi ac rudes eoque in bella faciles quieti et otio per voluptates adsuescerent,

hortari privatim, adiuvare publice, ut templa fora domos extruerent, laudando promptos et castigando segnes: ita honoris aemulatio pro necessitate erat.
2 iam vero principum filios liberalibus artibus erudire, et ingenia Britannorum studiis Gallorum anteferre, ut qui modo linguam Romanam abnuebant, eloquentiam
3 concupiscerent. inde etiam habitus nostri honor et



A Roman Tower.

frequens toga. paulatimque discessum ad delenimenta vitiorum, porticus et balinea et conviviorum elegantiam. idque apud imperitos humanitas vocabatur, cum pars servitutis esset.

XXII

Third campaign (A. D. 80); *new conquests up to the Tanaus. Judicious choice of sites for fortresses. Generous and open character of Agricola.*

Tertius expeditionum annus novas gentis aperuit,

vastatis usque ad Tanaum (aestuario nomen est) natio-
nibus. qua formidine territi hostes quamquam con-
flictatum saevis tempestatibus exercitum lacessere non
ausi; ponendisque insuper castellis spatium fuit.
adnotabant periti non alium ducem opportunitates 2
locorum sapientius legisse; nullum ab Agricola posi-
tum castellum aut vi hostium expugnatum aut pactione
ac fuga desertum; crebrae eruptiones; nam adversus
moras obsidionis annuis copiis firmabantur. ita in- 3
trepida ibi hiems, et sibi quisque praesidio, irritis
hostibus eoque desperantibus, quia soliti plerumque
damna aestatis hibernis eventibus pensare tum aestate
atque hieme iuxta pellebantur. nec Agricola umquam 4
per alios gesta avidus intercepit: seu centurio seu
praefectus incorruptum facti testem habebat. apud
quosdam acerbior in conviciis narrabatur, et erat ut
comis bonis, ita adversus malos iniucundus. ceterum 5
ex iracundia nihil supererat secretum, ut silentium
eius non timeres: honestius putabat offendere quam
odisse.

XXIII

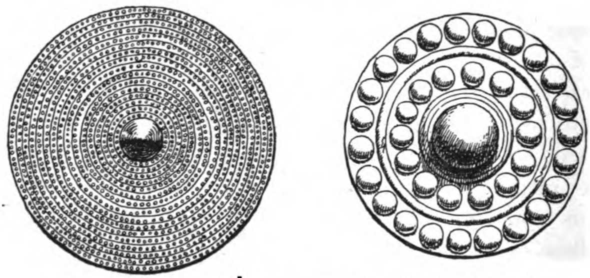
Fourth campaign (A.D. 81); *consolidation of previous conquests. Fortification of the line of the Clyde and Forth.*

Quarta aestas obtinendis quae percucurrerat in-
sumpta; ac si virtus exercituum et Romani nominis
gloria pateretur, inventus in ipsa Britannia terminus.
namque Clota et Bodotria diversi maris aestibus per 2
inmensum revectae, angusto terrarum spatio diri-
muntur: quod tum praesidiis firmabatur atque omnis
propior sinus tenebatur, summotis velut in aliam
insulam hostibus.

XXIV

Fifth campaign (A. D. 82) *in the West of Scotland. Projected invasion of Ireland.*

Quinto expeditionum anno nave prima transgressus ignotas ad id tempus gentis crebris simul ac prosperis proeliis domuit; eamque partem Britanniae quae Hiberniam aspicit copiis instruxit, in spem magis quam ob formidinem, si quidem Hibernia medio inter Britanniam atque Hispaniam sita et Gallico quoque mari opportuna valentissimam imperii partem magnis



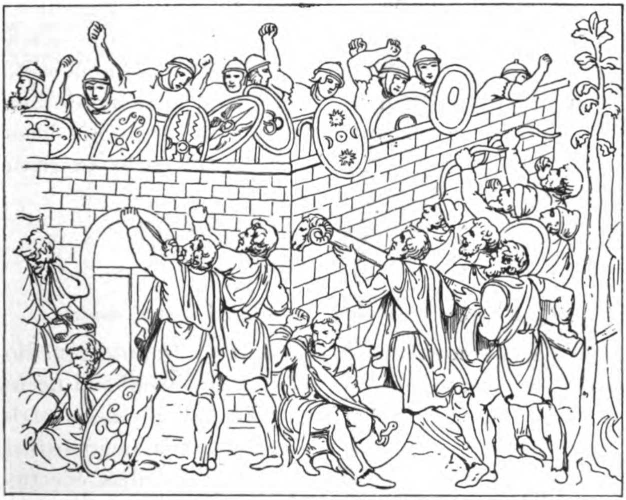
Ancient British Shields. (In the British Museum.)

2 in vicem usibus miscuerit. spatium eius, si Britanniae comparetur, angustius, nostri maris insulas superat. solum caelumque et ingenia cultusque hominum haud multum a Britannia differunt: melius aditus portus-
3 que per commercia et negotiatores cogniti. Agricola expulsum seditione domestica unum ex regulis gentis exceperat ac specie amicitiae in occasionem retinebat. saepe ex eo audivi legione una et modicis auxiliis debellari obtinerique Hiberniam posse; idque etiam adversus Britanniam profuturum, si Romana ubique arma et velut e conspectu libertas tolleretur.

XXV

Sixth campaign (A. D. 83). *Expedition north of the Forth. Co-operation of land and sea forces. Threatening attitude of the enemy.*

Ceterum aestate, qua sextum officii annum incohabat, amplexus civitates trans Bodotriam sitas, quia



BARBARIANS ATTACKING A ROMAN FORT. (From Trajan's Column.)

motus universarum ultra gentium et infesta hostibus exercitus itinera timebantur, portus classe exploravit; quae ab Agricola primum adsumpta in partem virium sequebatur egregia specie, cum simul terra, simul mari bellum impelleretur, ac saepe isdem castris pedes equesque et nauticus miles mixti copiis et laetitia sua quisque facta, suos casus attollerent, ac modo silvarum ac montium profunda, modo tempestatum ac fluctuum

adversa, hinc terra et hostis, hinc victus Oceanus
2 militari iactantia compararentur. Britannos quoque,
ut ex captivis audiebatur, visa classis obstupefaciebat,
tamquam aperto maris sui secreto ultimum victis
3 perfugium clauderetur. ad manus et arma conversi
Caledoniam incolentes populi, paratu magno, maiore
fama, uti mos est de ignotis, oppugnare ultro castella
adorti, metum ut provocantes addiderant; regredien-
dumque citra Bodotriam et excedendum potius quam
pellerentur ignavi specie prudentium admonebant,
cum interim cognoscit hostis pluribus agminibus
4 irrupturos. ac ne superante numero et peritia loco-
rum circumiretur, diviso et ipse in tris partes exercitu
incessit.

XXVI

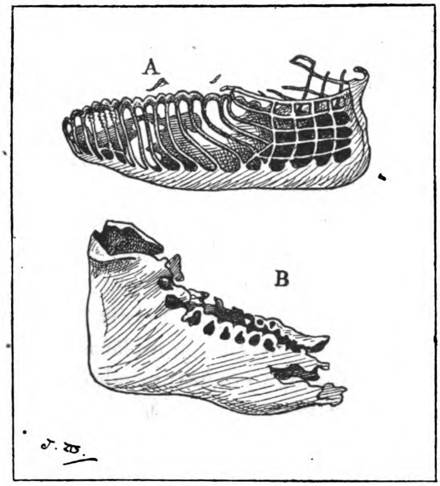
Attack by the Caledonians on the IXth legion repulsed.

Quod ubi cognitum hosti, mutato repente consilio
universi nonam legionem ut maxime invalidam nocte
adgressi, inter somnum ac trepidationem caesis vigi-
2 libus irrupere. iamque in ipsis castris pugnabatur,
cum Agricola iter hostium ab exploratoribus edoctus
et vestigiis insecutus, velocissimos equitum peditumque
adsultare tergis pugnantium iubet, mox ab universis
3 adici clamorem; et propinqua luce fulsere signa. ita
ancipiti malo territi Britanni; et Romanis rediit
animus, ac securi pro salute de gloria certabant.
ultro quin etiam erupere, et fuit atrox in ipsis por-
tarum angustiis proelium, donec pulsi hostes, utroque
exercitu certante, his, ut tulisse opem, illis, ne eguisse
4 auxilio viderentur. quod nisi paludes et silvae
fugientes texissent, debellatum illa victoria foret.

XXVII

Confident spirit of the Roman soldiers. The Britons make fresh preparations for war.

Cuius conscientia ac fama ferox exercitus nihil virtuti suae invium et penetrandam Caledoniam inveniendumque tandem Britanniae terminum continuo proeliorum cursu fremebant. atque illi modo cauti 2
ac sapientes prompti post eventum ac magniloqui erant. iniquissima haec bellorum condicio est: prospera



A. Leather Shoe with Open-work Design. (In the British Museum.)
B. Lace-up Boot (*Calceus*). (In the Guildhall Museum.)

omnes sibi vindicant, adversa uni imputantur. at 3
Britanni non virtute *se*, sed occasione et arte ducis *victos* rati, nihil ex adrogantia remittere, quo minus iuventutem armarent, coniuges ac liberos in loca tuta

transferrent, coetibus ac sacrificiis conspirationem civitatum sancirent. atque ita irritatis utrimque animis discessum.

XXVIII

Episode of the Usipi, who desert, and after a perilous voyage reach the mainland.

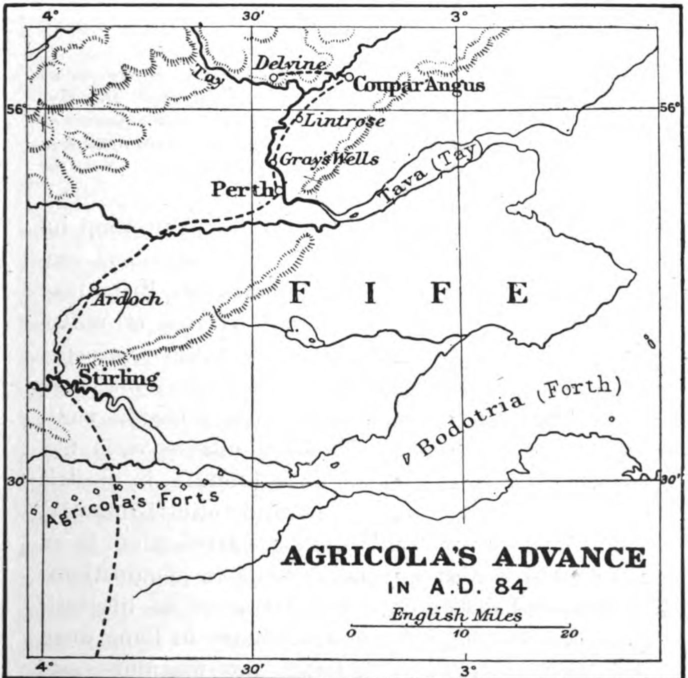
Eadem aestate cohors Usiporum per Germanias conscripta et in Britanniam transmissa magnum ac
2 memorabile facinus ausa est. occiso centurione ac militibus, qui ad tradendam disciplinam immixti manipulis exemplum et rectores habebantur, tris liburnicas adactis per vim gubernatoribus ascendere; et uno retro remigante, suspectis duobus eoque interfectis, nondum vulgato rumore ut miraculum praevehebantur.
3 mox ad aquandum atque utilia raptum egressi et cum plerisque Britannorum sua defensantium proelio congressi ac saepe victores, aliquando pulsi, eo ad extremum inopiae venere, ut infirmissimos suorum, mox sorte
4 ductos vescerentur. atque ita circumvecti Britanniam, amissis per inscitiam regendi navibus, pro praedonibus habiti, primum a Suebis, mox a Frisiis intercepti sunt.
5 ac fuere quos per commercia venumdatos et in nostram usque ripam mutatione ementium adductos indicium tanti casus inlustravit.

XXIX

Seventh campaign (A. D. 84). *Advance to the 'Mons Graupius,' where the enemy have encamped.*

Initio aestatis Agricola domestico vulnere ictus, anno ante natum filium amisit. quem casum neque ut plerique fortium virorum ambitiose, neque per lamenta rursus ac maerorem muliebriter tulit: et in
2 luctu bellum inter remedia erat. igitur praemissa

classe, quae pluribus locis praedata magnum et incertum terrorem faceret, expedito exercitu, cui ex Britannis fortissimos et longa pace exploratos addiderat, ad montem Graupium pervenit, quem iam hostis insederat. nam Britanni nihil fracti pugnae prioris 3



G. Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

eventu, et ultionem aut servitium expectantes tandemque docti commune periculum concordia propulsandum, legationibus et foederibus omnium civitatum vires exciverant. iamque super triginta milia armatorum 4
aspiciebantur, et adhuc adfluebat omnis iuventus et

quibus cruda ac viridis senectus, clari bello et sua quisque decora gestantes, cum inter plures duces virtute et genere praestans nomine Calgacus apud contractam multitudinem proelium poscentem in hunc modum locutus fertur:

XXX

Speech of Calgacus to his forces:—'There is no safety for us from the rapacity of the Romans but by fighting. Our free spirit and the very desperation of our position promise us victory. We have been reserved in our mountain fastnesses to be the avengers of previous British defeats. Now the Romans have reached even us.'

'Quotiens causas belli et necessitatem nostram in-
tueor, magnus mihi animus est hodiernum diem con-
sensumque vestrum initium libertatis toti Britanniae
fore; nam et universi servitutis expertes et nullae
ultra terrae ac ne mare quidem securum inminente
2 nobis classe Romana. ita proelium atque arma, quae
fortibus honesta, eadem etiam ignavis tutissima sunt.
3 priores pugnae, quibus adversus Romanos varia for-
tuna certatum est, spem ac subsidium in nostris
manibus habebant, quia nobilissimi totius Britanniae
eoque in ipsis penetralibus siti nec servientium litora
aspicientes, oculos quoque a contactu dominationis
4 inviolatos habebamus. nos terrarum ac libertatis
extremos recessus ipse ac sinus famae in hunc diem
defendit; atque omne ignotum pro magnifico est:
5 sed nunc terminus Britanniae patet, nulla iam ultra
gens, nihil nisi fluctus et saxa, et infestiores Romani,
quorum superbiam frustra per obsequium ac modestiam
6 effugeris. raptores orbis, postquam cuncta vastantibus
defuere terrae, iam et mare scrutantur: si locuples
hostis est, avari, si pauper, ambitiosi, quos non Oriens,

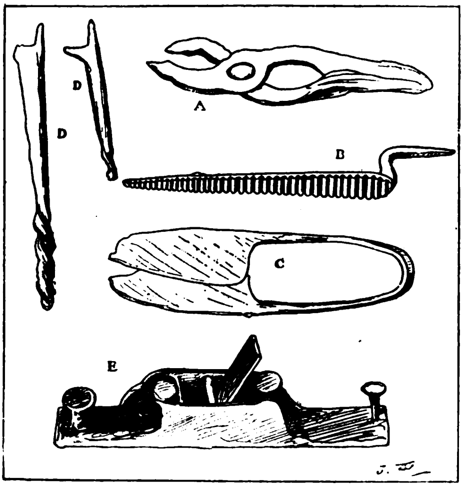
non Occidens satiaverit: soli omnium opes atque
inopiam pari adfectu concupiscunt. auferre trucidare 7
rapere falsis nominibus imperium, atque ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant.'

XXXI

'The Roman treatment of the enslaved Britons is brutal, but they would think us Caledonians too worthless even to be kept alive as slaves. Besides, they would resent our independent spirit and fear our seclusion. We must fight, and we shall win.'

'Liberos cuique ac propinquos suos natura carissimos esse voluit: hi per dilectus alibi servituri auferuntur: coniuges sororesque etiam si hostilem libidinem effugiant, nomine amicorum atque hospitum polluuntur.
bona fortunaeque in tributum, ager atque annus in 2
frumentum, corpora ipsa ac manus silvis ac paludibus emuniendis inter verbera ac contumelias conteruntur. nata servituti mancipia semel veneunt, atque ultro a dominis aluntur: Britannia servitutem suam quotidie emit, quotidie pascit.
tidie emit, quotidie pascit. ac sicut in familia recen- 3
tissimus quisque servorum etiam conservis ludibrio est, sic in hoc orbis terrarum vetere famulatu novi nos et viles in excidium petimur; neque enim arva nobis aut metalla aut portus sunt, quibus exercendis
reservemur. virtus porro ac ferocia subiectorum 4
ingrata imperantibus; et longinquitas ac secretum ipsum quo tutius, eo suspectius. ita sublata spe veniae tandem sumite animum, tam quibus salus
quam quibus gloria carissima est. Brigantes femina 5
duce exurere coloniam, expugnare castra, ac nisi felicitas in socordiam vertisset, exuere iugum potuere: nos integri et indomiti et in libertatem, non in

paenitentiam bellaturi, primo statim congressu ostendamus, quos sibi Caledonia viros seposuerit.'



ROMAN IMPLEMENTS FOUND AT SILCHESTER.
A. Smith's tongs. B. Mason's float. C. Shears.
D. Twist-bits. E. Iron carpenter's plane.

XXXII

'The Romans are not strong except through our disunion. Everything is on our side and against them. This field will decide our fate.'

'An eandem Romanis in bello virtutem quam in pace lasciviam adesse creditis? nostris illi dissensionibus ac discordiis clari vitia hostium in gloriam exercitus sui vertunt; quem contractum ex diversissimis gentibus ut secundae res tenent, ita adversae dissolvent: nisi si Gallos et Germanos et (pudet dictu) Britannorum plerosque, licet dominationi alienae san-

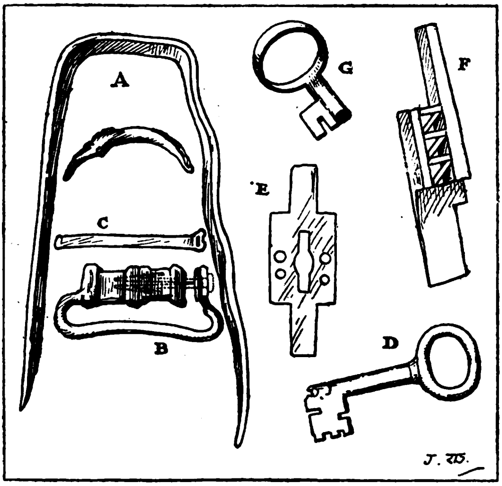
guinem commodent, diutius tamen hostes quam servos,
fide et adfectu teneri putatis. metus ac terror sunt 2
infirma vincla caritatis; quae ubi removeris, qui
timere desierint, odisse incipient. omnia victoriae
incitamenta pro nobis sunt: nullae Romanos coniuges
accendunt, nulli parentes fugam exprobraturi sunt;
aut nulla plerisque patria aut alia est. paucos numero, 3
trepidos ignorantia, caelum ipsum ac mare et silvas,
ignota omnia circumspectantes, clausos quodam modo
ac vinctos di nobis tradiderunt. ne terreat vanus
aspectus et auri fulgor atque argenti, quod neque tegit
neque vulnerat. in ipsa hostium acie inveniemus
nostras manus. adgnoscent Britanni suam causam, 4
recordabuntur Galli priorem libertatem: deserent illos
ceteri Germani, tamquam nuper Usipi reliquerunt.
nec quicquam ultra formidinis: vacua castella, senum
coloniae, inter male parentes et iniuste imperantes
aegra municipia et discordantia. hic dux, hic exer- 5
citus: ibi tributa et metalla et ceterae servientium
poenae, quas in aeternum perferre aut statim ulcisci
in hoc campo est. proinde ituri in aciem et maiores
vestros et posteros cogitate.'

XXXIII

Speech of Agricola to the Romans:—'We have had seven years of victory under trying conditions. We have now reached the extremity of Britain. In this difficult country only our valour will save us.'

Excepere orationem alacres, ut barbaris moris, cantu fremituque et clamoribus dissonis. iamque agmina et armorum fulgores audentissimi cuiusque procursu: simul instruebatur acies, cum Agricola quamquam laetum et vix munimentis coercitum militem accen-

2 dendum adhuc ratus, ita disseruit: 'septimus annus est, commilitones, ex quo virtute vestra, auspiciis imperii Romani, fide atque opera nostra Britanniam vicistis. tot expeditionibus, tot proeliis, seu fortitudine adversus hostis seu patientia ac labore paene adversus ipsam rerum naturam opus fuit, neque me militum



ROMAN IRON-WORK FOUND AT SILCHESTER.
A. Iron band of one of the doors of the west gate. B, C. Padlock and key. D. Key. E. Lock-plate. F. Lock-bolt. G. Ring-key for the finger.

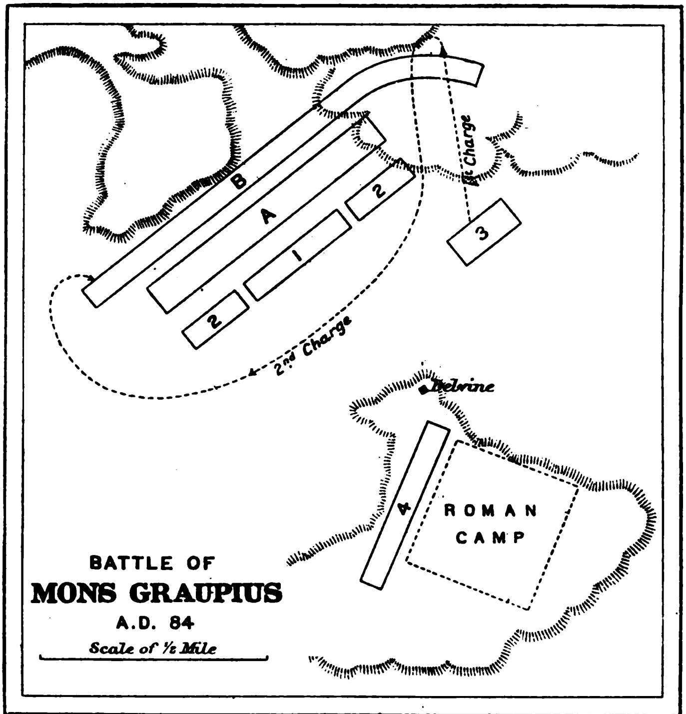
3 neque vos ducis paenituit. ergo egressi, ego veterum legatorum, vos priorum exercituum terminos, finem Britanniae non fama nec rumore, sed castris et armis
4 tenemus: inventa Britannia et subacta. equidem saepe in agmine, cum vos paludes montesve et flumina fatigarent, fortissimi cuiusque voces audiebam: "quando dabitur hostis, quando acies?" veniunt, e latebris suis

extrusi, et vota virtusque in aperto, omniaque prona
victoribus atque eadem victis adversa. nam ut super- 5
asse tantum itineris, silvas evasisse, transisse aestuaria
pulchrum ac decorum in frontem, ita fugientibus
periculosissima quae hodie prosperrima sunt; neque
enim nobis aut locorum eadem notitia aut commeatuum
eadem abundantia, sed manus et arma et in his omnia.
quod ad me attinet, iam pridem mihi decretum est 6
neque exercitus neque ducis terga tuta esse. proinde
et honesta mors turpi vita potior, et incolumitas ac
decus eodem loco sita sunt; nec inglorium fuerit in
ipso terrarum ac naturae fine cecidisse.'

XXXIV

'You see before you a beaten foe. They have escaped hitherto through their cowardice: now we have caught them.'

'Si novae gentes atque ignota acies constitisset,
aliorum exercituum exemplis vos hortarer: nunc vestra
decora recensete, vestros oculos interrogate. hi sunt,
quos proximo anno unam legionem furto noctis ad-
gressos clamore debellastis; hi ceterorum Britannorum
fugacissimi ideoque tam diu superstites. quo modo 2
silvas saltusque penetrantibus fortissimum quodque
animal contra ruere, pavida et inertia ipso agminis
sono pellebantur, sic acerrimi Britannorum iam pridem
ceciderunt, reliquus est numerus ignavorum et me-
tuentium. quos quod tandem invenistis, non restiterunt, 3
sed deprehensi sunt; novissimae res et extremus
metus corpora defixere in his vestigiis, in quibus pul-
chram et spectabilem victoriam ederetis. transigite cum 4
expeditionibus, imponite quinquaginta annis magnum
diem, adprobate rei publicae numquam exercitui im-
putari potuisse aut moras belli aut causas rebellandi.'



G. Philip & Son, London & Liverpool.

1. Auxiliary infantry.

2, 2. Auxiliary cavalry.

3. Four reserve squadrons of cavalry (37. 1).

4. Legions held in reserve in front of the camp.

A. First British line.

B. British reserves, who were charged first in front, and then in rear as they came down from the hills, by the reserve squadrons of Agricola (37. 1–2).

XXXV

The battle of the 'Mons Graupius.' Disposition of the forces on either side.

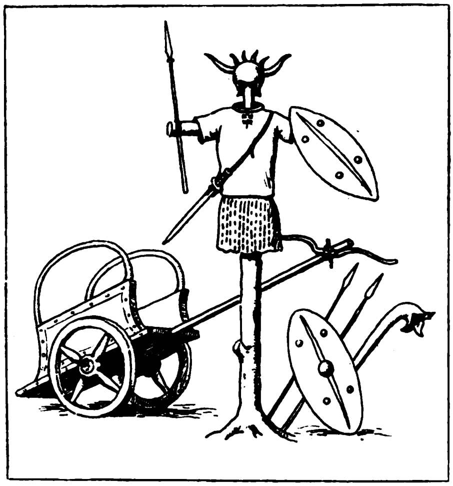
Et adloquente adhuc Agricola militum ardor eminebat, et finem orationis ingens alacritas consecuta est, statimque ad arma discursum. instinctos ruentesque 2
ita disposuit, ut peditum auxilia, quae octo milium erant, mediam aciem firmarent, equitum tria milia cornibus adfunderentur. legiones pro vallo stetere, ingens victoriae decus citra Romanum sanguinem bellanti, et auxilium, si pellerentur. Britannorum 3
acies in speciem simul ac terrorem editioribus locis constiterat ita, ut primum agmen in aequo, ceteri per adclive iugum conexi velut insurgerent; media campi covinnarius eques strepitu ac discursu complebat. tum 4
Agricola superante hostium multitudine veritus, ne in frontem simul et latera suorum pugnaretur, diductis ordinibus, quamquam porrectior acies futura erat et arcessendas plerique legiones admonebant, promptior in spem et firmus adversis, dimisso equo pedes ante vexilla constitit.

XXXVI

Successful Roman charge, then temporary confusion owing to the uneven ground.

Ac primo congressu eminus certabatur; simulque constantia, simul arte Britanni ingentibus gladiis et brevibus caetris missilia nostrorum vitare vel excutere, atque ipsi magnam vim telorum superfundere, donec Agricola Batavorum cohortes ac Tungrorum duas cohortatus est, ut rem ad mucrones ac manus adducerent; quod et ipsis vetustate militiae exercitatum et

hostibus inhabile, parva scuta et enormes gladios gerentibus; nam Britannorum gladii sine mucrone complexum armorum et in arto pugnam non tolera-
2 bant. igitur ut Batavi miscere ictus, ferire umbonibus, ora fodere, et stratis qui in aequo adstiterant, erigere in colles aciem coepere, ceterae cohortes aemulatione et impetu conisae proximos quosque caedere: ac pleri-



Trophy of British Weapons. (From a coin of Julius Caesar.)

que semineces aut integri festinatione victoriae relin-
3 quebantur. interim equitum turmae, *ut* fugere covinnarii, peditum se proelio miscuere. et quamquam recentem terrorem intulerant, densis tamen hostium agminibus et inaequalibus locis haerebant; minimeque aequa nostris iam pugnae facies erat, cum aegre clivo instantes simul equorum corporibus impellerentur; ac

saepe vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi, ut quemque formido tulerat, transversos aut obvios incursabant.

XXXVII

The British reserves attempt to take the Romans in rear, but are outgeneralled by Agricola. Defeat and pursuit of the British.

Et Britanni, qui adhuc pugnae expertes summa collium insederant et paucitatem nostrorum vacui



Light-armed Soldiers. (From a grave relief in the Museum at Kreuznach and from Trajan's Column.)

spernebant, degredi paulatim et circumire terga vincentium coeperant, ni id ipsum veritus Agricola quattuor equitum alas, ad subita belli retentas, venientibus opposuisset. quantoque ferocius adcucurrerant, tanto acrius pulsos in fugam disiecisset. ita consilium Bri- 2

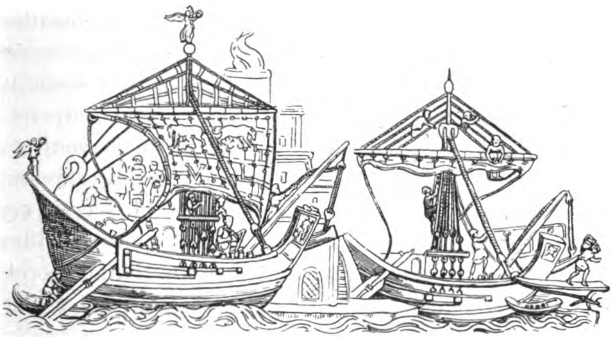
tannorum in ipsos versum, transvectaeque praecepto
ducis a fronte pugnantium alae aversam hostium aciem
invasere. tum vero patentibus locis grande et atrox
spectaculum: sequi, vulnerare, capere, atque eosdem
3 oblatis aliis trucidare. iam hostium, prout cuique
ingenium erat, catervae armatorum paucioribus terga
praestare, quidam inermes ultro ruere ac se morti
offerre. passim arma et corpora et laceri artus et
cruenta humus; et aliquando etiam victis ira virtusque.
4 postquam silvis appropinquaverunt, idem primos se-
quentium incautos collecti et locorum gnari circum-
veniebant. quod ni frequens ubique Agricola validas
et expeditas cohortes indaginis modo, et sicubi artiora
erant, partem equitum dimissis equis, simul rariores
silvas equitem perscrutari iussisset, acceptum aliquod
5 vulnus per nimiam fiduciam foret. ceterum ubi com-
positos firmis ordinibus sequi rursus videre, in fugam
versi, non agminibus, ut prius, nec alius alium respec-
tantes, rari et vitabundi in vicem longinqua atque avia
6 petiere. finis sequendi nox et satietas fuit. caesa
hostium ad decem milia: nostrorum trecenti sexaginta
cecidere, in quis Aulus Atticus praefectus cohortis,
iuvenili ardore et ferocia equi hostibus inlatus.

XXXVIII

The Britons make no further stand. Agricola returns to winter-quarters. Return of the fleet after circumnavigating the island.

Et nox quidem gaudio praedaque laeta victoribus: Britanni palantes mixtoque virorum mulierumque ploratu trahere vulneratos, vocare integros, deserere domos ac per iram ultro incendere, eligere latebras et statim

relinquere; miscere in vicem consilia aliqua, dein separare; aliquando frangi aspectu pignorum suorum, saepius concitari. satisque constabat saevisse quosdam 2
in coniuges ac liberos, tamquam misererentur. proximus dies faciem victoriae latius aperuit: vastum ubique silentium, deserti colles, fumantia procul tecta, nemo exploratoribus obvius. quibus in omnem partem 3
dimissis, ubi incerta fugae vestigia neque usquam conglobari hostes compertum (et exacta iam aestate spargi



ROMAN MERCHANT SHIPS IN A HARBOUR. (From a bas-relief.)

bellum nequibat), in fines Borestorum exercitum deducit. ibi acceptis obsidibus, praefecto classis circum- 4
vehi Britanniam praecipit. datae ad id vires, et praecesserat terror. ipse peditem atque equites lento itinere, quo novarum gentium animi ipsa transitus mora terrerentur, in hibernis locavit. et simul classis 5
secunda tempestate ac fama Trucculensem portum tenuit, unde proximo Britanniae litore lecto omni redierat.

XXXIX

Agricola's military repute rouses Domitian's jealousy.

Hunc rerum cursum, quamquam nulla verborum iactantia epistulis Agricolae auctum, ut Domitiano
2 moris erat, fronte laetus, pectore anxius excepit. inerat conscientia derisui fuisse nuper falsum e Germania triumphum, emptis per commercia, quorum habitus et crines in captivorum speciem formarentur: at nunc veram magnamque victoriam tot milibus
3 hostium caesis ingenti fama celebrari. id sibi maxime formidolosum, privati hominis nomen supra principis attolli: frustra studia fori et civilium artium decus in silentium acta, si militarem gloriam alius occuparet; cetera utcumque facilius dissimulari, ducis boni im-
4 peratoriam virtutem esse. talibus curis exercitus, quodque saevae cogitationis indicium erat, secreto suo satiatus, optimum in praesentia statuit reponere odium, donec impetus famae et favor exercitus languesceret: nam etiam tum Agricola Britanniam obtinebat.

XL

Recall of Agricola: his cold reception by the Emperor. Henceforward he lives unostentatiously at Rome.

Igitur triumphalia ornamenta et inlustris statuae honorem et quidquid pro triumpho datur, multo verborum honore cumulata, decerni in senatu iubet addique insuper opinionem, Suriam provinciam Agricolae destinari, vacuam tum morte Atilii Rufi consularis et
2 maioribus reservatam. credidere plerique libertum ex secretioribus ministeriis missum ad Agricolam codicillos, quibus ei Suria dabatur, tulisse, cum praecepto

ut, si in Britannia foret, traderentur; eumque libertum in ipso freto Oceani obvium Agricolae, ne appellato quidem eo ad Domitianum remeasse, sive verum istud, sive ex ingenio principis fictum ac compositum est.
tradiderat interim Agricola successori suo provinciam 3
quietam tutamque. ac ne notabilis celebritate et frequentia occurrentium introitus esset, vitato amicorum officio noctu in urbem, noctu in Palatium, ita ut praeceptum erat, venit; exceptusque brevi osculo et nullo
sermone turbae servientium inmixtus est. ceterum 4
uti militare nomen, grave inter otiosos, aliis virtutibus temperaret, tranquillitatem atque otium penitus hausit, cultu modicus, sermone facilis, uno aut altero amicorum comitatus, adeo uti plerique, quibus magnos viros per ambitionem aestimare mos est, viso aspectoque Agricola quaererent famam, pauci interpretarentur.

XLI

Troubles abroad force Agricola into a dangerous popularity as the one capable general.

Crebro per eos dies apud Domitianum absens accusatus, absens absolutus est. causa periculi non crimen ullum aut querela laesi cuiusquam, sed infensus virtutibus princeps et gloria viri ac pessimum inimicorum
genus, laudantes. et ea insecuta sunt rei publicae 2
tempora, quae sileri Agricolam non sinerent: tot exercitus in Moesia Daciaque et Germania et Pannonia temeritate aut per ignaviam ducum amissi, tot militares viri cum tot cohortibus expugnati et capti; nec iam de limite imperii et ripa, sed de hibernis legionum
et possessione dubitatum. ita cum damna damnis con- 3
tinuarentur atque omnis annus funeribus et cladibus

insigniretur, poscebatur ore vulgi dux Agricola, com-
parantibus cunctis vigorem et constantiam et expertum
bellis animum cum inertia et formidine ceterorum.
4 quibus sermonibus satis constat Domitiani quoque
aures verberatas, dum optimus quisque libertorum
amore et fide, pessimi malignitate et livore pronum
deterioribus principem exstimulabant. sic Agricola
simul suis virtutibus, simul vitiis aliorum in ipsam
gloriam praeceps agebatur.

XLII

Agricola is not allowed to accept the proconsulship of Africa or Asia in his turn. His loyal submission gives no handle to Domitian's jealousy.

Aderat iam annus, quo proconsulatum Africae et
Asiae sortiretur, et occiso Civica nuper nec Agricolae
consilium deerat nec Domitiano exemplum. accessere
quidam cogitationum principis periti, qui iturusne
2 esset in provinciam ultro Agricolam interrogarent. ac
primo occultius quietem et otium laudare, mox operam
suam in adprobanda excusatione offerre, postremo non
iam obscuri suadentes simul terrentesque pertraxere
3 ad Domitianum. qui paratus simulatione, in adrogan-
tiam compositus, et audiit preces excusantis et, cum
adnuisset, agi sibi gratias passus est, nec erubuit bene-
ficii invidia. salarium tamen proconsuli consulari
solitum offerri et quibusdam a se ipso concessum
Agricolae non dedit, sive offensus non petitum, sive
ex conscientia, ne quod vetuerat videretur emisse.
4 proprium humani ingenii est odisse quem laeseris:
Domitiani vero natura praeceps in iram, et quo
obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, moderatione tamen pru-

dentiaque Agricolae leniebatur, quia non contumacia neque inani iactatione libertatis famam fatumque provocabat. sciant, quibus moris est inlicita mirari, posse etiam sub malis principibus magnos viros esse, obsequiumque ac modestiam, si industria ac vigor adsint, eo laudis excedere, quo plerique per abrupta, sed in nullum rei publicae usum, ambitiosa morte inclaruerunt.

XLIII

Agricola's death. The popular grief. Suspicions of poison. Domitian's feigned sorrow.

Finis vitae eius nobis luctuosus, amicis tristis, ex-
traneis etiam ignotisque non sine cura fuit. vulgus
quoque et hic aliud agens populus et ventitavere ad
domum et per fora et circulos locuti sunt; nec quis-
quam audita morte Agricolae aut laetatus est aut
statim oblitus. augebat miserationem constans rumor 2
veneno interceptum: nobis nihil comperti, adfirmare
ut ausim. ceterum per omnem valetudinem eius cre-
brius quam ex more principatus per nuntios visentis
et libertorum primi et medicorum intimi venere, sive
cura illud sive inquisitio erat. supremo quidem die 3
momenta ipsa deficientis per dispositos cursores nun-
tiata constabat, nullo credente sic adcelerari quae
tristis audiret. speciem tamen doloris habitu vultuque
prae se tulit, securus iam odii et qui facilius dissimu-
laret gaudium quam metum. satis constabat lecto 4
testamento Agricolae, quo coheredem optimae uxori
et piissimae filiae Domitianum scripsit, laetatum eum
velut honore iudicioque. tam caeca et corrupta mens
assiduis adulationibus erat, ut nesciret a bono patre
non scribi heredem nisi malum principem.

XLIV

Agricola's personal appearance. His life was complete and his death opportune.

Natus erat Agricola Gaio Caesare tertium consule idibus Iuniis : excessit quarto et quinquagesimo anno, decumo kalendas Septembris Collega Priscoque con-
2 sulibus. quod si habitum quoque eius posteri noscere velint, decentior quam sublimior fuit; nihil impetus in vultu: gratia oris supererat. bonum virum facile
3 crederes, magnum libenter. et ipse quidem, quamquam medio in spatio integrae aetatis ereptus, quantum ad gloriam, longissimum aevum peregit. quippe et vera bona, quae in virtutibus sita sunt, impleverat, et consulari ac triumphalibus ornamentis praedito quid
4 aliud adstruere fortuna poterat? opibus nimiis non gaudebat, speciosae contigerant. filia atque uxore superstitibus potest videri etiam beatus incolumi dignitate, florente fama, salvis adfinitatibus et amicitiis
5 futura effugisse. nam sicut ei *non licuit* durare in hanc beatissimi saeculi lucem ac principem Traianum videre, quod augurio votisque apud nostras auris ominabatur, ita festinatae mortis grande solacium tulit evasisse postremum illud tempus, quo Domitianus non iam per intervalla ac spiramenta temporum, sed continuo et velut uno ictu rem publicam exhausit.

XLV

The subsequent horrors of Domitian's reign, which Agricola was spared from witnessing. Tacitus regrets his own and his wife's absence from Agricola's deathbed.

Non vidit Agricola obsessam curiam et clausum armis senatum et eadem strage tot consularium caedes,

tot nobilissimarum feminarum exilia et fugas. una
adhuc victoria Carus Metius censebatur, et intra
Albanam arcem sententia Messalini strepebat, et
Massa Baebius [iam] · tum reus erat: mox nostrae
duxere Helvidium in carcerem manus; nos Mauricum
Rusticumque divisimus, nos innocenti sanguine Senecio
perfudit. Nero tamen subtraxit oculos suos iussitque 2
scelera, non spectavit: praecipua sub Domitiano
miseriarum pars erat videre et aspici, cum suspiria
nostra subscriberentur, cum denotandis tot hominum
palloribus sufficeret saevus ille vultus et rubor, quo se
contra pudorem muniebat.

Tu vero felix, Agricola, non vitae tantum claritate, 3
sed etiam opportunitate mortis. ut perhibent qui
interfuerunt novissimis sermonibus tuis, constans et
libens fatum excepisti, tamquam pro virili portione
innocentiam principi donares. sed mihi filiaeque eius 4
praeter acerbitatem parentis erepti auget maestitiam,
quod adsidere valetudini, fovere deficientem, satiari
vultu complexuque non contigit. excepissemus certe
mandata vocesque, quas penitus animo figeremus.
noster hic dolor, nostrum vulnus, nobis tam longae 5
absentiae condicione ante quadriennium amissus est.
omnia sine dubio, optime parentum, adsidente amantis- 6
sima uxore superfuere honori tuo: paucioribus tamen
lacrimis comploratus es, et novissima in luce deside-
ravere aliquid oculi tui.

XLVI

Not tears, but imitation of his virtues will be the best tribute to Agricola's memory. His virtues shall live in history.

Si quis piorum manibus locus, si, ut sapientibus placet, non cum corpore extinguuntur magnae animae,

placide quiescas, nosque et domum tuam ab infirmo
desiderio ot muliebribus lamentis ad contemplationem
virtutum tuarum voces, quas neque lugeri neque
2 plangi fas est. admiratione te potius et immortalibus
laudibus et, si natura suppeditet, similitudine colamus:
3 is verus honos, ea coniunctissimi cuiusque pietas. id
filiae quoque uxorique praeceperim, sic patris, sic
mariti memoriam venerari, ut omnia facta dictaque
eius secum revolvant, formamque ac figuram animi
magis quam corporis complectantur, non quia interce-
dendum putem imaginibus quae marmore aut aere
finguntur, sed, ut vultus hominum, ita simulacra
vultus imbecilla ac mortalia sunt, forma mentis
aeterna, quam tenere et exprimere non per alienam
materiam et artem, sed tuis ipse moribus possis.
4 quidquid ex Agricola amavimus, quidquid mirati
sumus, manet mansurumque est in animis hominum,
in aeternitate temporum, fama rerum nam multos
veterum velut inglorios et ignobilis oblivio obruit:
Agricola posteritati narratus et traditus superstes erit.

NOTES

I

§ 1. **Clarorum . . . tradere**: object of *omisit.* Though the *grammatical* object, the infinitival phrase comes first, because it is the *logical* subject—the 'text,' as it were, of the whole chapter.

usitatum, 'a custom.' The p. p. p. is here used in the neuter as a noun, in apposition to the preceding infinitival phrase. This use, fairly common after Cicero, is a development of the regular impersonal use of the 3rd sing. passive. Thus in Livy *degeneratum* = 'degeneracy' is used as a concise expression for the regular *quod degeneratum erat.* Cf. our 'Forewarned is forearmed.'

nostris . . . temporibus . . . aetas: a pleonastic expression for *nostra aetas*; but *nostris temporibus* makes a better contrast to *antiquitus.*

quamquam incuriosa: this use of *quamquam* without a verb is unclassical (though *quamvis* = 'however' is so used with adjectives). As an adjective often stands in an adversative relation to the verb, it is felt as equivalent to an adversative clause, and this relation is brought out more explicitly by the addition of the appropriate adversative conjunction *quamquam.* Cf. the English use of 'if,' 'while,' 'although' with adjectives and participles.

incuriosus: a Silver Latin word, is used by Tacitus with a genitive or a dative. The genitive depends on the idea of the noun *cura* contained in the adjective. Cf. *securus odii* in 43. 3.

suorum: probably neuter.

aetas: concrete; as we often use 'age' for the people living in the age.

vicit ac supergressa est: the second verb adds a vivid detail to the metaphor contained in the first.

ignorantiam recti: cf. Bacon, *Essayes*, Of Praise: 'Of the Highest Vertues, they (i. e. the Common People) have no Sense, or Perceiving at all.'

invidiam: people look askance at what they do not understand.

§ 2. **agere**: the infinitive is here the nominative of the verbal noun, as *tradere* above was the accusative. Tr. 'The performance of,' &c.

digna memoratu: for the classical construction *digna quae memorentur*.

pronum, 'easy,' from the idea that descent is easy, ascent difficult.

in aperto gives the idea of a course unbeset by obstacles.

sine gratia aut ambitione, 'without showing or seeking favour.'

gratia = partiality, partisan-feeling in favour of the subject of their history.

ambitio = interested motives.

bonae . . . conscientiae: *conscientia* does not mean 'conscience,' the seat of the moral sense in general; but 'consciousness' of something in particular. With *bona* or *mala* it means the consciousness of having done well or ill, and corresponds pretty closely to our 'good' or 'bad conscience,' which is used in reference to particular actions. 'He has no conscience' is in Latin *homo est levissimus*. 'To act conscientiously' is *salva fide facere*.

§ 3. **ac**, 'and indeed.'

ipsi should strictly be *ipsos* as subject of the inf. *narrare* or *ipsorum* in agreement with the possessive notion of *suam*, but it is attracted to the case of the subject of the main verb *arbitrati sunt*, as this is also logically the subject of the infinitival phrase. (*Ipse* and *quisque* are often so used, especially with ablatives absolute or gerundives.)

Rutilio: P. Rutilius Rufus (consul, B.C. 105) was condemned on a trumped-up charge of extortion by the 'knights,' at once his accusers and his judges, in revenge for his efforts as proconsul of Asia to check their rapacity. He became a stock example of nobly-borne adversity.

Scauro: M. Aemilius Scaurus (consul, B.C. 115, 107; censor, 109) bore a more doubtful character, but was held in great esteem by the aristocratic party. His political opponents accused him of taking bribes from Jugurtha.

citra: properly 'on this side of,' so 'stopping short of' becomes used in Silver Latin as almost equivalent to *sine*.

fides: the meanings of this word are analyzed by Nägelsbach thus: *fides* expresses (1) a state of mind; (2) a quality of things. Each of these may be (*a*) active; (*b*) neuter; (*c*) passive.

(1) A state of mind.

(*a*) trust, belief, 11. 2 *colorati vultus . . . fidem faciunt*, &c.

(*b*) fidelity, 32. 1 *nisi si Gallos . . . fide . . . teneri putatis*.

(*c*) credit, the meaning here.

(2) A quality of things.

(*a*) guarantee, proof (Livy i. 16 *addita rei dicitur fides*).

(*b*) certainty, 10. 1 *quae priores . . . percoluere, rerum fide tradentur.*

(*c*) pledged troth (Cic. *de Offic.* iii. 10 *salva fide*).

obtrectationi: 'predicative' dative; it is used to show that *for which a thing serves* or *which it brings about.* Tr. 'a matter of reproach.' The number of words so used is comparatively small, and *obtrectationi* seems to be so used first by Tacitus.

adeo, 'so truly.'

§ 4. **nunc**: opposed to the times when the writing of biographies and even autobiographies was an honoured custom.

vitam defuncti hominis: and therefore less open to cavil than the writing of an autobiography or the biography of a man still alive.

opus fuit, 'I have been compelled.' The perfect tense is used because the example of the past has already virtually been pleaded in excuse.

non petissem incusaturus: viz. because an avowed invective would have been more welcome. The future participle is used for a conditional clause, as often in poetry and post-Ciceronian prose.

tam saeva, &c.: sc. *sunt.* This sentence seems to be explanatory of *nunc.* It does not, of course, refer to the government, with which Tacitus was satisfied (cf. 3. 1), but to the temper of the reading public, whose malice could bear nothing but invective in a work dealing with a man who had accommodated himself to Domitian's rule. See Appendix A on the text. *tam* here = *adeo.*

II

§ 1. **Legimus**: viz. in the *acta senatus.* See Appendix A.

Aruleno Rustico: cf. for the 'dative of the agent,' 10. 1 *Gallis . . . inspicitur.* This use is only common in classical authors with compound tenses, expressing a *state existing for* some one; but by analogy the construction is extended to cases where this meaning is not applicable. Rusticus, praetor in A. D. 69, was put to death by Domitian in 94 for having spoken highly of Thrasea in his biography.

Paetus Thrasea led the Stoic opposition under Nero, who put him to death in A. D. 66.

Herennio Senecioni: Senecio, a friend of Pliny, was put to death by Domitian on the accusation of Metius Carus (see ch. 45) 'that he had written a life of Helvidius.'

Priscus Helvidius: son-in-law of Thrasea, banished in A. D. 66, restored in A. D. 70, was put to death by Vespasian as an 'irreconcilable.' Notice that when the *praenomen* is omitted, the *cognomen* can come before the *nomen.*

fuisse: the subject is the fact mentioned in the last clause.

triumviris: sc. *capitalibus*. The carrying out of the sentence at their hands instead of at the hands of the Aediles, was an intentional aggravation of the punishment. Among various police functions, they saw to the carrying out of capital sentences. Cf. App. C. Inscr. 9.

comitio: the *comitium*, a part of the Forum near the Senate House, was the scene of public punishments.

foro: probably added to emphasize the publicity of the disgrace, such as it was.

§ 2. **conscientiam**, 'the verdict of the civilized world' as we might say. The word means 'the knowledge of the facts of the case.'

arbitrabantur: sc. Domitian and his ministers.

expulsis, &c.: the abl. abs. generally comes before the principal verb and gives the circumstances leading up to it, but it is often, as above (*delegato . . . ministerio*), placed after the principal verb to detail some circumstances connected with it. Here the connexion is very loose indeed. The abl. abs. appends another distinct plan for stifling the voice of freedom. The expulsion took place in A. D: 94.

omni bona arte, 'all Learning.' *ars bona* is used sometimes of moral qualities, sometimes of an intellectual accomplishment (as probably here).

ne . . . occurreret: a rhetorical embellishment. The measure was of course felt by Domitian to be a political necessity.

§ 3. **ultimum in libertate**: liberty carried to extremes; not intended by Tacitus to denote a desirable state of things. He is thinking of the anarchy of the civil wars.

quid: sc. *ultimum*.

inquisitiones refers to the system of espionage carried on by the *delatores*.

III

§ 1. **set**: see Appendix A.

quamquam: with Subjunctive, as is usual in Tacitus. *Quamquam*, conceding a *fact*, should take the Indicative.

saeculi = *aetatis*.

Nerva: we should expect the addition of *Divus*, as we gather from 44. 5 that Nerva was dead.

dissociabiles: here passive = *insociabiles*, 'incompatible.' In Horace, *Od.* i. 3. 22 it is *active*, 'separating.' For the force of *dis-* cf. *dissimilis*. **olim**, 'long since.'

principatum ac libertatem: cf. App. C. Inscr. 1. We may take this as Tacitus' ideal government. The phrase inspired Racine:

> 'Pourvu que, dans le cours d'un règne florissant,
> Rome soit toujours libre, et César tout-puissant.'
>
> (*Britannicus*.)

securitas publica: personified, as often on coins. *Libertas publica; Roma renascens* also occur on coins.

adsumpserit: (*adsumere* = 'to take to oneself') applies strictly only to *voti fiduciam ac robur* in the sense of 'has realized.' With *spem ac votum* it has a rather different meaning, 'has allowed itself to frame' hopes and prayers.

The climax is reached through the stages: hope, hope formulated in prayer, confidence in the fulfilment of the prayer, its substantial fulfilment (*robur*).

tardiora, 'slower to act.'

augescunt, extinguuntur: notice the asyndeton which is regular in contrasts.

oppresseris: the subjunctive of the indefinite second person singular (French *on*; German *man*). The 'perfect' subjunctive in this potential use is sometimes aorist, sometimes future perfect as far as regards tense. Here it is the latter, the fut. perf. giving the force of speed and completeness.

subit, 'steals over us,' a poetical use of *subeo*.

§ 2. **quid? si:** a rhetorical way of introducing a more forcible argument.

quindecim: viz. from A. D. 81 to 96, the reign of Domitian.

interciderunt: *inter-* gives the idea of a course cut short before completion; cf. *interficere, intercipere*.

pauci, &c., 'while we that remain are but few and have outlived,' &c. Cf. Seneca, Ep. 30. 5 *vivere tanquam superstes sibi*.

ut ita dixerim: the potential use of the perfect (instead of the present) in subordinate clauses is post-classical.

exemptis, &c.: fifteen years are a large part of a mature life. A man was *iuvenis* till forty-five; at sixty he would be *senex*.

exactae aetatis: the genitive defines *terminos*.

per silentium, 'in silence.' *Per*, of a course pursued; cf. on 6. 1 *per mutuam caritatem*.

§ 3. **non . . . pigebit** = *iuvabit*.

incondita . . . voce, 'a characteristic of prooemia, and frequently found in the most artistically elaborated works' (Gudeman). For the pleonastic expression cf. note on 13. 3 *et in rempublicam*.

composuisse: perfect, because the satisfaction will be that of *having finished* the work. The work alluded to is the *Histories*.

§ 4. **honori . . . destinatus:** this dative marks a step on the way to the 'predicative dative' with *esse* (cf. on *obtrectationi*, 1. 3). In both the dative comes from the idea of 'direction,' but here the idea is better marked by the more definite meaning of *destinatus*.

professione pietatis: the abl. is one of 'cause.' Literally 'owing to my plea of dutiful affection,' i.e. as a proof of my filial love.

IV

§ 1. **Foroiuliensium colonia:** now Fréjus, on the coast of Gallia Narbonensis, established as a colony by Julius Caesar, and used as a naval station by Augustus.

procuratorem Caesarum: the procurators of Caesar were officials paid by him to represent his financial interests in the provinces, whether imperial or senatorial. As they were private agents of the Emperor, they could not be taken from the ranks of the Senators, who were in theory his equals. These officials were in virtue of their office 'knights.' *Caesarum*, i.e. of different Caesars. Cf. App. C. Inscr. 10

equestris nobilitas: as the holding of one of the old Republican curule offices conferred 'nobility' upon the family of the holder, so by analogy the holding of a 'knightly' office by Agricola's grandfathers is said to confer the 'knightly nobility' upon their grandson Agricola. There were thus two distinct patents of nobility under the Empire.

Graecinus: he probably attained to the praetorship (cf. 6. 4). He wrote a treatise on the culture of vines.

senatorii ordinis: classical usage would require *vir* in apposition to the proper name for the genitive of quality to depend upon. Cf. § 2 below, *rarae castitatis* and 9. 1.

iram . . . meritus: *mereri* is used by Tacitus in a neutral sense 'to incur'; but here the ordinary sense of 'deserving' is intended to give bitterness to the expression.

Silanum: father-in-law of Caligula, who compelled him to commit suicide.

abnuerat: the plupf. implies a lapse of time between the refusal and the punishment. This is borne out by the dates of the events mentioned here: *iussus* refers to A.D. 38, the date of Silanus' death, and, as Agricola was born in A.D. 40, his father cannot have died before A.D. 39.

§ 2. **rarae castitatis:** cf. on *senatorii ordinis*, just above.

sinu indulgentiaque, 'under her fond and personal care.' *Sinus* gives the idea of protection; *indulgentia* of maternal tenderness.

per omnem . . . cultum: *omnem* really goes with the whole phrase *honestarum artium cultum*, and is not simply = *omnium* by hypallage. Translate 'thorough.'

§ 3. **peccantium:** we should use the abstract noun 'sin.'

quod, &c.: this whole clause is subject of *arcebat*.

bonam, 'naturally good'; *integram*, 'untainted,' owing to his mother's care.

magistram, 'guide.'

mixtum: applied to the place itself, instead of to the factors which compose the place, cf. *Hist.* i. 10 (*Mucianus*) *malis bonisque artibus mixtus.* Cicero speaks of the *disciplina* and *gravitas* of Marseilles.

§ 4. **acrius**: absolute, 'too keenly,' explained by *ultra*, &c.

Romano ac senatori: *ac* = 'and moreover.' *Senatori*, i. e. a future member of the Senate, which as embodying the Roman ideal of *gravitas* might be expected to keep itself free from notions regarded as foreign and fanciful. Philosophy was an exotic in Rome, and was always studied from the point of view of practice rather than of metaphysical speculation.

The concluding words of this chapter help us to understand the motive of the *Agricola*. Philosophy had led to the inconsiderate attacks on the government which had so often proved fatal to the philosophers. Agricola was well advised in giving up its dangerous lessons, and preserving only moderation as the outcome of its teaching. Tacitus is perhaps excusing the action or inaction of the 'moderates'—men who tolerated Domitian's misrule—by a side attack on the reactionary party who found the whole duty of a Roman exemplified in Thrasea.

hausisse, ni: in this type of 'mixed' conditional sentence, the indicative *hauriebat* (here represented by its Oratio Obliqua equivalent) expresses an actual, not hypothetical, state of things in progress, but broken into by the fact conveyed in the modifying conditional clause.

§ 5. **speciem**, 'ideal.' *Species* means (1) that which is seen in a thing, the outward appearance, 24. 3 *specie amicitiae*; (2) that which the mind sees in a thing, apart from its outward manifestation. So here.

vehementius quam caute: we should expect *cautius*. Tacitus has a similar violation of Roman idiom in the *Hist.* i. 83. 3. The idiom itself is strange. It probably arose thus:—*magis vehementer quam caute* (a difference of kind) was incorrectly changed to *vehementius quam caute* (where *vehementius* should express a difference of *degree*). Then by attraction *vehementius quam cautius*.

ratio et aetas: a hendiadys, 'the calculation which comes with years.'

modum: the ethical doctrine of the 'mean,' μηδὲν ἄγαν, is here applied to practical life. See above on *Romano ac senatori*. Cf. 42, end, for the application of this principle to Agricola's conduct.

V

§ 1. **prima castrorum rudimenta . . . adprobavit**, 'he served his military apprenticeship creditably under Suet. Paulinus.' *adprobare* = 'to approve a thing to a person,' i. e. 'to win a person's approval for a thing.'

moderato, 'discreet.'

electus: the 'aoristic' past participle, as we have already had it in the abl. abs. construction. It is explanatory of *adprobavit*.

quem contubernio aestimaret: the subjunctive is either

(1) final, 'in order to test him by giving him an appointment on his staff'; 'for the test of nearer companionship'; or (2) consecutive, 'as one whom he thought worthy of a place on his own staff.' In (1) *contubernio* is abl. of means; in (2) abl. of price, a meaning derived from that of 'means.'

§ 2. **nec** connects with the preceding sentence.

licenter (explained by *more . . . vertunt*) and **segniter** correspond respectively to *voluptates* and *commeatus*. The construction of the sentence is:—

Nec Agr.	licenter (more...vertunt) ad volupt.	tit. trib. et insc.
	segniter ad commeatus	rettulit.

titulum tribunatus: in order to become qualified for a senatorial career (see Appendix C. Inscr. 9) a young noble had to serve for a year as *tribunus militum*. As we see here, the duties were often not taken seriously. Claudius (cf. Suet. *Claud.* 25) instituted a merely titular tribuneship (*imaginariae militiae genus*) as a qualifying step to the knightly rank. Such were tribunes only *titulo tenus*.

nec . . . rettulit ad, &c., 'he did not through self-indulgence (like most young men, whose military service is a time of irregularities) or through idleness make his honorary rank and inexperience an excuse for pleasure or leave of absence.' *referre ad*, 'to refer to some end,' i.e. 'to make something the end or aim of one's actions.'

noscere, &c.: for a similar accumulation of historic infinitives, in which Tacitus follows Sallust (*Jug.* 66. 1), cf. 38. 2.

in iactationem, 'with a view to self-display.' *In* with the accusative is often used to express a result aimed at consciously or unconsciously.

simulque: i.e. while he refused no dangerous service (*nihil . . . recusare*).

anxius: i.e. with a proper sense of responsibility, 'cautiously,'—an unusual sense. Tr. 'and yet (*simul*) he showed caution as well as energy in his conduct of affairs.'

§ 3. **in ambiguo**: i.e. for the Romans.

trucidati veterani, &c.: they were in garrison at Camulodunum (Colchester). Such a colony of veterans was calculated to keep down a conquered country and to form a centre of Roman influence.

coloniae: we only know of Camulodunum, as Verulamium and Londinium were *municipia*. But the vague plural expresses more vividly the panic which did not stay to weigh words.

intercepti exercitus, 'our armies isolated.' Again a vague plural used of one army. Or (with Dräger) the plural denotes the various divisions of the army.

tum: i.e. at the time of the first rising.

§ 4. **alterius**: possibly simply for *alius*, the rare genitive of *alius*.

summa rerum, 'the supreme responsibility.'

artem et usum, 'a theoretical and practical acquaintance with warfare.'

in . . . cessit, 'fell to the share of.'

erga: properly used, as here, with names of persons, but common also in Tacitus with names of things.

VI

§ 1. **Domitiam Decidianam**: her father's name was Decidius Domitius. Thus we see that under the Empire a lady's name was taken from the *nomen* of the father, with a derivative of some other family name (here the father's *praenomen*) added as a *cognomen*.

natalibus: *natales* = *origo* is post-classical.

robur: i. e. material help in his political career.

per mutuam . . . anteponendo: an instance of Tacitus' love of joining dissimilar constructions, cf. 22. 4 *comis . . . iniucundus*. *per* may mean (1) 'by means of,' and give the reason of the *concordia*; or it may mean (2) 'in a state of,' and serve merely to expand the meaning of *concordia*. Cf. 3. 2 *per silentium*.

In (1) *anteponendo* will be an abl. of cause; in (2) it will be that loose use of the abl. of the gerund which expresses the circumstances under which the action of the verb takes place. It might be replaced with little change of sense by the pres. partic. or by *dum . . . anteponunt*.

in vicem: a late and incorrect use for *inter se*, 'each other.' *in vicem* should mean 'in turn.'

nisi quod, 'except that,' introduces a limitation of the preceding idea, viz. that husband and wife were equally praiseworthy. Tacitus implies that good wives were rarer than good husbands.

§ 2. **Salvius Titianus**: an elder brother of the Emperor Otho. He was proconsul of Asia in A. D. 63–4. Agricola was his quaestor in 64.

neutro = *neutra re*.

quamquam, &c.: sc. *esset* from *redempturus esset*.

parata peccantibus, 'offering every facility for corruption,' i.e. by its wealth and its bad traditional system of extortion.

facilitate, 'indulgence.'

redempturus, 'ready to purchase.'

mutuam dissimulationem mali, 'mutual connivance at wrong-doing.' Strictly speaking, Tacitus means 'connivance at his own wrong-doing in return' for his *facilitas*. For *dissimulatio* = concealment of another's wrong-doing, cf. 39. 3.

§ 3. **in subsidium**: *in* expresses 'the result.' Cf. note on 5. 2 *in iactationem*. *Subsidium* may refer to the precedence given (by the lex Papia Poppaea, A. D. 9) to candidates for office who had children.

tribunatum plebis: he was tribune in A. D. 66. *annum*

(with *tribunatus* below) goes also with *inter . . . plebis.* For the use of a prepositional phrase used adjectively with a noun cf. below, *sub Nerone temporum.* Classical Latin would probably have employed a relative clause, *annum, qui erat inter*, &c.

quiete et otio: the modal ablative without *cum* or a determining adjective is common in Tacitus, as in the poets.

§ 4. **praeturae**: in A.D. 68.

nec enim iurisdictio obvenerat: i.e. he was neither *praetor urbanus* nor *praetor peregrinus.* A great deal of the judicial work, which had belonged to the praetors, now fell to the *praefectus urbi.*

ludos: transferred from the Aediles to the praetors by Augustus.

inania honoris explains *ludos* by a more general expression. Notice the use of the neuter plural of an adjective with a genitive to fill the place of an abstract noun. Cf. Cic. *in Verrem*, i. 15 *inania nobilitatis.* See note on 12. 4 *extrema terrarum.*

medio, 'with a compromise between economy and lavishness.' Ablat. of the way 'by which.'

uti longe, &c., explains *medio.* *uti . . . ita* here introduce two different points of view of the same thing, 'approaching nearer to credit,' i.e. 'gaining credit (viz. for good sense) by avoiding extravagance.' Or *uti . . . ita* might have the ordinary force of a strong contrast, and explain *moderationis* and *abundantiae* respectively; 'avoiding extravagance, yet with due consideration for his reputation.' *Famae* then would mean reputation with the populace.

sacrilegium: Nero had pillaged the temples to replace the works of art lost in the great fire of A.D. 64. Agricola seemingly had no power to enforce restitution of these imperial thefts, but he tracked down the thefts committed then or at other times by minor individuals.

effecit ne: the 'final' construction with *effecit* is owing to the idea of 'purpose' which accompanies that of result.'

alterius: cf. 5. 4.

sensisset: a rhetorical and effective use of the pluperfect to express the complete success of Agricola's efforts. Even the memory of the past is wiped out. We must translate less vigorously, 'so that *it was as if* the state had never suffered from,' &c.

VII

§ 1. **annus . . . adflixit**: *annus* is personified, as in 22. 1.

§ 2. **Intimilium**: Vintimiglia. In the *Histories* ii. 13 Tacitus tells us that Otho's soldiers, irritated by an unproductive victory over the mountaineers of the maritime Alps, wreaked their displeasure upon the harmless inhabitants of Intimilium: *calamitatibus insontium expleta avaritia.*

in praediis suis: *suus* is not so strictly reflexive as *se*, but

often means 'his, her, their own,' in reference to some person mentioned prominently in the sentence.

§ 3. **sollemnia pietatis:** i.e. the rites prescribed by filial affection to be paid at his mother's tomb. Of course he could not have been present at her burial. As Otho's fleet was dispatched in March, and Vespasian was proclaimed at Alexandria on July 1, some months must have elapsed before he started for Intimilium.

In the *Annals* Tacitus uses *funeris sollemne* of the actual funeral rites.

adfectati: here not in the usual sense, 'aimed at,' but 'seized'—a step further.

in partes: the plural is common in the meaning of 'side,' 'party.'

§ 4. **Mucianus:** Governor of Syria at the time of Nero's death. He joined Vespasian and occupied Rome in his interest, while Vespasian himself remained in Asia.

iuvene admodum: Domitian was about eighteen years old.

tantum licentiam, &c.: i. e. he abused the privileges while neglecting the responsibilities of his position as Vespasian's son. *fortuna* is often used by Tacitus of imperial rank, cf. 13. 5.

§ 5. **integre:** i. e. he was inaccessible to bribery on the part of men who wished to avoid service.

versatum: generally used with a further definition of the sphere of action. Here supply *in delectibus agendis.*

vicensimae legioni: the 20th Victrix, probably quartered at Chester. The other legions in Britain were the 2nd, 9th, and 14th. See Appendix B. *legio.*

ubi = *apud quam.*

decessor: Roscius Caelius, the *legatus praetorius* mentioned below. In his quarrel with the governor Trebellius, he seems to have fostered a spirit of mutiny in his soldiers which he himself was later unable to allay, when, upon Trebellius' flight, he attempted to bring round their allegiance to Bolanus.

legatis . . . consularibus: viz. Trebellius and Bolanus. Governors of provinces were generally ex-consuls; commanders of legions, ex-praetors.

incertum: a nominative in loose apposition to the sentence; cf. *usitatum* in 1. 1. The uncertainty explains why Tacitus speaks of his disaffection as a mere report (*narrabatur*).

§ 6. **bonos,** 'loyal.' Agricola was content with restoring discipline, and screened his troops in his dispatches as far as he could.

VIII

§ 1. **tunc:** in A.D. 69.

Vettius Bolanus had commanded in the East under Corbulo, and, after his governorship of Britain, became proconsul of Asia.

feroci provincia dignum: an inversion of the usual sense of *dignus*. Instead of saying that the province is not deserving of a certain treatment, Tacitus says the treatment is not worthy of, i.e. not adapted to the province.

compescuit: unclassical for *coercuit* (Dräger).

incresceret: post-classical; the subject is *Agricola*.

peritus obsequi: instead of the gerund *obsequendi*. An extension of the classical use of the infinitive with *participles* of verbs that take an infinitive (e.g. verbs expressing *ability*, *desire*, &c.). The poets and post-classical prose writers extend the construction to adjectives of similar meaning (*idoneus*, *peritus*, *nescius*, *cupidus*, *avidus*, &c.).

eruditus miscere: a natural analogy from the classical *doctus* with infinitive. 'Taught to reconcile interest with duty.'

§ 2. **consularem**: sc. *legatum*. Cerealis had previously served in Britain as legatus of the 9th legion under Paulinus. He was one of Vespasian's most able generals, and was sent by him in A.D. 70 to suppress the rebellion of Civilis and the Batavi.

spatium exemplorum, 'scope for their effective display.' *exemplum* is a deed which might serve others as an example.

in experimentum: cf. 5. 2 *in iactationem*.

ex eventu, 'as a result of success.' *eventus*, properly 'the issue,' is used by post-classical writers in the meaning of 'a fortunate issue,' cf. 27. 2.

§ 3. **in suam famam**: *in* used as above *in experimentum*.

extra invidiam: cf. *extra culpam esse*, and the use of *citra* in 1. 3.

nec = *nec tamen*, as often.

IX

revertentem, 'when he came back to Rome.' The past participle might seem more logical, but Mr. Heitland has shown in his note on Cic. *pro Murena*, 68 *eccui autem non proditur revertenti?* that the present participle is regularly used of governors on their return. Cf. Cic. *pro Plancio*, 65 *cum discedens e provincia* (Sicily) *Puteolos forte venissem*.

divus Vespasianus: the title *divus*, conferred by the Senate upon the best of the Emperors after their death, was the outcome of their unlimited power and generally beneficent rule acting upon the imagination of men accustomed to similar titles among Eastern potentates. The so-called temple of Mercury at Pompeii is probably a temple in honour of the deified Vespasian.

patricios: this honour had a purely social value for the recipient.

Aquitaniae: this province extended since Augustus' time from the Pyrenees to the Loire.

splendidae . . . dignitatis: genitive of quality dependent upon *provinciae Aquitaniae*.

administratione ac spe: explains *splendidae.* Aquitania was the most important of the praetorian provinces, and was naturally regarded as a step to the consulship.

destinarat: subject *Vespasianus*; object *Agricolam.*

§ 2. **secura,** 'irresponsible.'

obtusior, 'somewhat rough in its methods.' For the combination of positive and comparative cf. 1. 7 *pronum magisque in aperto.*

ac . . . agens: explanatory of *obtusior.*

manu, 'summarily.'

exerceat: 'bring into play,' 'call for.'

naturali prudentia: ablative of quality.

facile, 'without awkwardness.'

§ 3. **iam vero,** 'further.'

ubi . . . poscerent: this use of the subjunctive to express repeated action is post-classical. It is an imitation of the optative 'of indefinite frequency' in Greek. Classical Latin would employ *ubi poposcerant* of past, and *ubi poposcerunt* of present time.

conventus, 'district assemblies,' is further explained by *iudicia,* the particular business of the *conventus* which Tacitus had in mind.

et saepius: *et* as often implies a contrast = *et tamen.* Or *saepius* may be contrasted with a *saepe* understood with *severus.*

officium means (1) voluntary service.

(*a*) a kindness, favour.

(*b*) ceremonial observance, attendance (post-Augustan), 40. 3 *vitato amicorum officio*; 18. 6 *per . . . officiorum ambitum.*

(2) obligation, duty.

(*a*) duty in general.

(*b*) i. an official duty (as here).

ii. office, appointment, 14. 3 *fama aucti officii*; 25. 1 *sextum officii annum.*

tristitiam . . . exuerat: if retained, these words must be a parenthetical explanation of *nulla . . . persona.* We must then take *tristitiam, adrogantiam, avaritiam* as qualities which, if ungenial in themselves, might yet have been ascribed without insult to a good governor in his official capacity, viz. 'severity,' 'dignity,' and 'strictness in exacting the treasury dues.' But this is to put too great a strain upon words which naturally imply a distinctly unpleasant character, and we may believe with Furneaux that the passage is an unfortunate gloss upon the preceding words.

The alternative is to take *exuerat* not = 'had laid aside,' but 'kept clear of' the three bad qualities mentioned, which were the natural pitfalls for a governor's reputation. But the passage is then very awkward.

§ 4. **iniuria:** because in such a good man as Agricola, his integrity would be beyond question.

fuerit: aorist potential. This use with a non-personal subject is unclassical.

§ 5. **cui saepe boni**, &c.: cf. Milton, *Lycidas*, 'Fame, that last infirmity of noble mind,' itself suggested by Tac. Hist. iv. 6 *etiam sapientibus cupido gloriae novissima exuitur.* Cf. also Fronto *ad M. Aurelium De Eloquentia*, 1 'novissimum homini sapientiam colenti amiculum est gloriae cupido. Id novissime exuitur.'

per artem, 'by means of intrigue.'

collegas: i.e. the governors of neighbouring provinces.

procuratores: the procurator was the fiscal agent of Caesar, and in an imperial province answered to the quaestor of a senatorial province. The plural perhaps suggests a succession of these officers during Agricola's three years of command.

atteri, 'to come worse off.'

§ 6. **minus triennium**: the usual term of office in an imperial province was from three to five years.

statim has an adjectival force with *spem*.

dari: the present instead of the future tense here indicates that the appointment in the popular opinion was already settled.

in hoc: *hoc* is accusative, 'to this purport.'

§ 7. **elegit**: gnomic perfect, 'has been found to choose aright.'

egregiae . . . spei: Gudeman says this is less plausibly referred to character, and seems rather to be an expression for 'marriageable age.' She was about thirteen years old.

iuveni: Tacitus was about twenty-five years old.

pontificatus: genitive of definition. The college of pontiffs numbered at this time fifteen members; its president, the *pontifex maximus*, was always the Emperor. Cf. App. C. Inscr. 12.

X

§ 1. **multis scriptoribus**: for the dative of the agent cf. 2. 1 *Aruleno*, &c. Of Greek writers, Pytheas, Timaeus, and Strabo; of Roman writers, Caesar, Livy, Pomponius Mela, Fabius Rusticus, and the elder Pliny had written about Britain.

curae ingeniive: i.e. diligence in amassing material and ability in making use of it.

eloquentia: ablative of means with *percoluere*.

percoluere: the verb elsewhere means 'to honour'; here 'to adorn.'

fide: abl. of manner. Cf. note on 1. 3.

§ 2. **spatio ac caelo**, 'in extent and direction,' i.e. its eastern and western coast lines were equal to, and ran towards the same points of the compass as, the western and eastern coast lines of Germany and Spain respectively.

Tacitus imagined the eastern coast of Britain to run parallel to the coast of Germany (which included Jutland and Scandinavia),

and the western coast to run parallel to the coast of Spain, which was thought by the Ancients to run northwards instead of westwards.

Gallis: for the dative of the agent cf. note on 2. 1 *Aruleno*, &c.

etiam strengthens *inspicitur*, as opposed to the less demonstrable statement *spatio ac caelo . . . obtenditur*.

nullis contra terris: abl. of attendant circumstances. *Contra* is predicative. For the statement cf. 30. 5.

§ 3. **Livius:** viz. in the lost book (105) dealing with Caesar's expedition.

eloquentissimi: cf. *eloquentia* above.

scutulae: this seems to be a four-sided rectilinear figure, either rectangular or, as here, rhomboidal.

bipenni: an axe with a fan-shaped blade. As Caesar and Mela speak of Britain as triangular, we may suppose Rusticus had a single axe-head in mind, the southern coast corresponding to the spreading blade, and the narrow isthmus between Forth and Clyde to the part to which the handle is fixed.

§ 4. **et est,** &c.: as Tacitus admits the similarity to a *bipennis*, if Caledonia is disregarded, and as he knew of the narrowing of the land at the isthmus of the Forth and Clyde, it is evident that he understood a single axe-head by the word.

unde . . . fama, 'whence the attribution of this shape to the whole.' *in universum* is equivalent to an adverb, 'generally.'

transgressis: dative of the person, 'from whose point of view a situation or direction is defined.' It is that vague use of a case, without any very obvious dependence on a word in the sentence, which gave rise to the term 'absolute' as applied to a case. Of course in the ablative, as in the dative construction, the use of the case is derived naturally from its fundamental meaning. Translate 'When you have crossed,' viz. into Caledonia.

inmensum . . . tenuatur: two separate and independent characteristics, viz. of size and shape, are compressed into the one sentence. There is an enormous stretch of land, and this tapers to a point.

extremo iam litore: a sort of ablative of accompaniment with *procurrentium*, 'jutting out with what is really the furthest sea-board,' i.e. jutting out where the coast actually ends. *iam* marks the contrast with the apparently natural ending of the land at the isthmus.

§ 5. **novissimi,** 'the most remote.'

circumvecta: cf. ch. 38. 4.

incognitas: the Orkneys had been mentioned by Mela, so *incognitas* probably means merely 'unexplored.'

domuitque: cf. Juvenal, ii. 160 *modo captas Orcadas* (he is writing about twenty years after Tacitus).

§ 6. **dispecta,** 'seen at a distance,' implies the limitation

which is explained by the following *quia hactenus iussum*, 'because their orders went no further.'

Thule: unknown, but possibly Mainland in Shetland.

sed resumes after the digression.

pigrum perhaps refers to the difficulties of northern navigation, and in particular to 'the belt of calm and fog surrounding the south of Shetland,' and 'the contrary tides and currents off N.E. Scotland' (Furneaux). Perhaps it is merely a theoretical application of the idea of the general lifelessness of cold regions to the sea.

perinde, 'correspondingly,' i.e. to the nature of the water; so *perinde attolli* = 'is not raised to any great height.'

impellitur: sc. *ventis*.

§ 7. **neque . . . ac**: a rare combination, like *-que . . . ac*. Instead of going on with something like '*nor* is it worth while, because many,' &c., Tacitus changes the construction to 'and indeed many,' &c.

multum fluminum huc atque illuc ferre, 'many currents set in various directions'; *ferre* being intransitive. Or of course *mare* may be the subject.

litore tenus, '*merely* as far as the coast.'

velut in suo, 'as though in its own province.'

XI

§ 1. **Ceterum** resumes after a digression.

ut, 'as is usual,' explains *parum compertum*.

ex eo: viz. the fact just mentioned.

§ 2. **Germanicam originem**: Tacitus is probably wrong in his conclusion, though his data (as derived from Agricola himself) are very likely correct. The Caledonians (known later as Picts) were in any case the representatives of a tribe pushed northward by conquests from the south—possibly the Celtic tribe of Goidels, possibly a still more primitive race.

colorati, 'sunburnt,' 'swarthy.' The Silures lived in South Wales. They were conquered by Ostorius Scapula in A.D. 50, and their leader, Caratacus, taken prisoner to Rome.

posita contra Hispania: the stress of the meaning falls on the participle which is fused into a single idea with the noun; this is especially the case with the 'Abl. Abs.' construction. The real subject here is not 'Spain,' but 'the fact that Spain lies opposite.' An instructive example is *Ann.* i. 8 *cum occisus Caesar aliis pessimum, aliis pulcherrimum facinus videretur*. The construction is due to the Roman liking for a personal subject. There seems to be no evidence sufficient to support Tacitus' contention that Iberians settled in Britain.

fidem: see note on 1. 3.

proximi Gallis, subject; **et similes sunt**, predicate. *et* = also.

similes: sc. *Gallis.*

vi, 'the effect.'

in diversa: the thought is obscurely suggested by the words. The implied meaning is that as Britain and Gaul (judged from an intermediate standpoint) run in different directions—the former south, the latter north—they almost meet, and hence arises the similarity of the southernmost Britons to their nearest Gallic neighbours. Perhaps Tacitus wrote *in adversa,* 'so as to face each other.'

§ 3. **tamen,** &c., gives what is probably the true reason, viz. immigration from Gaul as opposed to the two previously suggested explanations, viz. identity of origin and similarity of physical conditions.

§ 4. **eorum:** i. e. *Gallorum.*

deprehendas: i. e. among the Britons. 'Potential' subjunctive.

advenere: sc. *pericula.*

§ 5. **praeferunt** = *prae se ferunt.*

ut quos . . . emollierit: causal subjunctive.

nam explains the implication of the last sentence, viz. that the Gauls are not *molles natura,* but *longa pace emolliti.*

olim victis: i. e. those subdued by Plautius and his immediate successors. See Introduction.

XII

§ 1. **honestior auriga:** some understand Tacitus to mean that the charioteer is held in more esteem than the warrior, unlike the conditions of the Homeric times. But cf. Appendix B, s. v. *covinnarius.* More likely the contrast is between the *covinnarius* and the foot-soldier.

per principes, 'from one chieftain to another,' cf. *per manus,* 'from hand to hand.' The chieftains change with the success or failure of their factions.

§ 2. **pro nobis utilius:** a pleonastic expression suggested by the wish to lay a stronger emphasis on *adversus.*

§ 3. **ultra . . . mensuram:** i. e. *ultra mensuram dierum nostri orbis*; an instance of the common *comparatio compendiaria* or 'comparison by short cut.' For the fact cf. Juvenal, ii. 161 *minima contentos nocte Britannos.* While the days at Rome never exceed fifteen hours, in the Orkneys they are over eighteen hours long. Of course in winter the days are correspondingly short.

exiguo discrimine, 'by *only* a short interval.'

internoscas: potential subjunctive in a dependent clause. This use is not common.

§ 4. **solis fulgorem . . . transire:** of course the midnight sun itself is only seen in higher latitudes, but if we take *solis fulgorem* as the subject of *transire* (instead of supplying *solem*) the

remark of Tacitus is not far wrong. *transire*, viz. along the horizon.

extrema et plana terrarum = *extremae et planae terrae*. This construction of a neuter adjective (not containing an idea of quantity) with a genitive is very rare in Cicero and Caesar, but common in the poets and later prose writers. Cf. 6. 4.

humili umbra: ablative of cause.

The earth is supposed by Tacitus to be a disc, under which at its northern edge the sun passes between its setting and rising. As the edge of this disc is low, the shadow cast by the sun would rise slantingly higher and higher from the north towards the south. In the north, then, according to Tacitus, the belt of darkness would be so shallow that the illuminated heavens are seen through it. Tacitus stands strangely below the best scientific knowledge of his time, which recognized the spherical form of the earth.

§ 5. **praeter**, 'except.'

calidioribus terris: Tacitus often uses the ablative of place without a preposition, following the usage of the poets.

oriri sueta: classical prose writers would use *solita* instead of *sueta* with the infinitive.

patiens frugum, fecundum: the asyndeton is a little harsh, and the olive and vine are not naturally brought under the head of *fruges*. *arborum patiens, frugum fecundum* has been plausibly suggested.

alia metalla: Caesar, *B. G.* v. 12, mentions tin and iron. Several pigs of lead with Roman inscriptions have been found in Britain. Cf. Inscription 8; Appendix C.

§ 6. **et Oceanus**: concise; 'the ocean too,' as well as the land, bears valuable prizes, viz. pearls. Cf. 25. 2.

margarita: from neuter *margaritum*, instead of the classical form *margarita* (fem.).

§ 7. **rubro mari**: i.e. the Persian Gulf.

expulsa, 'thrown up' by the sea.

The thought in the end of the chapter is that, in the prevailing spirit of avarice at Rome, want of skill would not long be allowed to check the exploitation of the pearl fisheries if they were worth exploiting.

naturam: pregnant. '*Valuable* properties.'

XIII

§ 1. **ipsi** marks the transition from the description of the country to that of its inhabitants. Tacitus naturally speaks of them first in the light of their relation to Rome.

obeunt: strictly applicable to *munera* alone. It is used with *dilectum* and *tributa* by zeugma, but as these are included in *munera*, the zeugma is not harsh.

si . . . absint: the indicative apodosis *obeunt* states a general

characteristic, the subjunctive protasis states the condition (the existence of which is problematical) under which the characteristic is manifested. As we might say in English, 'The dog is good-tempered if you would not tease it.'

§ 2. **igitur,** 'well,' takes up the story of the conquest suggested in the words *iam . . . serviant.*

terruerit: for the subjunctive cf. 3. 1. As for the fact, Caesar's object was merely intimidation with a view to securing his Gallic conquests.

§ 3. **et in rem publicam,** &c.: explanatory of *bella civilia.* Cf. 16. 6 *innocens . . . invisus.* In these examples the second member adds precision to the first; in others, e.g. *et . . . munera* above, the second brings the first under a more general head. Sometimes the second is merely a synonym added for rhetorical effect; cf. 3. 3 *incondita ac rudi voce.*

praeceptum: sc. *Augusti.* Tiberius, whose position was not, like that of Augustus, securely based on service done to the state, referred his policy to Augustus' example as far as possible.

§ 4. **agitasse . . . ni . . . fuissent:** cf. on 4. 4 *hausisse,* &c.

ni velox, &c.: sc. *fuisset* from *fuissent* below.

ingenio mobili: ablative of cause.

paenitentiae with *velox*: the genitive with adjectives (other than 'relative adjectives' requiring an object of reference) is mainly a poetical extension of this latter usage helped on by the analogy of the freer Greek genitive with adjectives.

frustra fuissent: the use of an adverb in the predicate with *sum* seems borrowed from the popular language.

§ 5. **Claudius:** cf. App. C, Inscr. 2.

in partem rerum, 'to share the undertaking.' After all, Vespasian was merely a *legatus legionis,* but his after-greatness gives importance to his earlier appointments.

fortunae: i.e. Vespasian's. Cf. on 7. 4.

monstratus fatis: *fatis* is ablative. The fates point him out by means of his achievements just narrated. In Suetonius (*Vesp.* 5) they use the less credible means of portents. The story of Vespasian teems with supernatural hints of his future greatness, and these popular superstitions probably suggested the expression to Tacitus in this passage.

XIV

§ 1. **Plautius:** Aulus Plautius Silvanus had been consul in A.D. 29 and governor of Dalmatia. His services in Britain were rewarded by an ovation. See Introduction (p. xix) for the dates of the command of Plautius and succeeding governors in Britain, and for a summary of their achievements.

Ostorius: the memory of his western campaigns against

the Silures is said to be preserved in the name of Oyster-hill, near Hereford.

colonia: Camulodunum (Colchester), the city of Cynobellinus (Shakespeare's *Cymbeline*).

§ 2. **Cogidumno:** perhaps the [Ti.] Claudius [Co]gidubnus of an inscription found at Chichester, who is styled *r*[*ex*] and *legatus Augusti in Britannia.* The square brackets indicate gaps in the inscription, which are filled up with more or less probability as above (but in the genitive case).

vetere . . . consuetudine: ablative of manner.

ut haberet, &c.: the subject is *populus Romanus.* The clause explains *consuetudine*; cf. *mos est ut, ius est ut,* &c. Tr. 'by an old and long-established custom of the Roman people, namely, to have,' &c. On the reading see Appendix A.

et reges, 'even kings,' e.g. Massinissa, Eumenes, Attalus, and other kings, especially in the East. Cf. Livy xliv. 24 *populum Romanum* (subject in Orat. Obl.) *regum viribus reges oppugnare.*

aucti officii: i.e. of having done more than his duty demanded.

§ 4. **biennio:** properly ablative of 'time within which'; then denoting by implication 'time during which.'

firmatis probably agrees in the 'Ablative Absolute' with *praesidiis*, as we find the phrase *firmare praesidium* in other places in Tacitus. Cf. 35. 2 *firmarent,* note.

terga occasioni patefecit: a bold personification of *occasio.*

XV

§ 1. **accendere:** common in metaphors in the sense of 'to kindle' (*spem, studia, iram accendere*). Here it is transferred from the feeling aroused to the cause of the feeling—the wrongs. We had better translate, however, 'inflamed *their sense of* their wrongs.'

interpretando: *interpretari* means not only 'to explain the real meaning of something,' but also 'to put a construction upon something,' 'to view in a certain light.' We might, perhaps, translate here 'by misrepresentation.'

nihil profici: Oratio Obliqua.

tamquam gives the point of view of the Romans. Its use with a participle originates with Livy.

ex facili: an imitation of the Greek use of ἐξ with genitive of adjective to form adverbial phrases.

tolerantibus: dative.

§ 2. **alterius . . . alterius:** i.e. *legati . . . procuratoris.*

manum, 'the attendant troop,' 'gang': *centuriones* and *servos* are in apposition to *manum.* Contrast Agricola's management of his household in 19. 2.

§ 3. **ab ignavis**: i.e. the Romans.

tamquam . . . nescientibus: sc. *Britannis.* The case is the dative of indirect object with the infinitives above. *tantum* goes closely with *pro patria.* Translate 'as though we could die for any cause but our country's.' For *tamquam* with participle cf. note on 1. 1 *quamquam.*

§ 4. **quantulum . . . militum**, 'how few (Roman) soldiers.' *enim*, the expression is elliptical. The unexpressed thought of the speaker is, 'yet they will find themselves mistaken' (for how insignificant are their numbers).

sic, 'even so,' i.e. as the Britons intend to do. The reference is to the defeat of Varus in A. D. 9.

Germanias: Tacitus speaks loosely of the free Germans in the terms of the two Roman provinces.

et, 'and yet.'

§ 5. **divus Iulius**: a purely Roman expression put unnaturally, like *Germanias* just above, into the mouth of the British speaker. It may, however, be sarcastic from its combination with *recesserit.*

aemularentur: the sense will suggest the subject, which is, of course, not the same as the subject of *recessuros.*

plus impetus, maiorem constantiam: the wretched have both the courage and the doggedness of despair. See Appendix A.

§ 6. **relegatum**: the technical term for 'banished,' here used metaphorically.

iam ipsos . . . deliberare: in Oratio Recta, *iam nos ipsi* (i.e as opposed to the Romans) *quod difficillimum fuit* ('has been hitherto') *deliberamus.*

quod difficillimum fuerit: on the lack of concerted action on the part of the Britons cf. 12. 2.

porro adds a fresh reason.

XVI

§ 1. **in vicem**: see note on this word in 6. 1.

Boudicca: this is explained as a Celtic word meaning 'victorious.' There is no authority for the customary English spelling 'Boadicea,' but the reading of one MS. 'Voadicca' comes near it.

sumpsere . . . bellum: an extension of the common phrase *arma sumere.*

sparsos . . . milites: Tacitus probably means the soldiers whom they caught in the open, as the actual storming of the garrisons is mentioned as a further stage immediately afterwards. In the *Annals* (xiv. 33) he says that they avoided the *castella* and *praesidia.*

coloniam: Camulodunum.

in barbaris qualifies *saevitiae* adjectivally, without the usual participial accompaniment (such as *usitatae*). Cf. 6. 3 *sub Nerone temporum.*

ira et victoria: the personification is more natural in English than in Latin. *victoria* = 'the intoxication of victory.'

§ 2. **quod nisi:** only used by Tacitus in this work. In such phrases *quod* gives a loose connexion with the preceding sentence.

foret: Cicero and Caesar would have used *esset.*

tenentibus . . . plerisque stands in a concessive relation to the main verb, 'though many,' &c.

propius, 'the fear of the governor touched them more nearly still' (than the consciousness of their wrong-doing).

egregius cetera: this would not come into the British point of view. It is a comment of Tacitus himself modifying the British judgement of Suetonius' character. He is probably giving us a summary of the report of the imperial commissioner, Julius Classicianus, on Suetonius' government, forgetting that he is supposed to be reflecting the feelings of the enemy alone. Cf. his attributing the expressions *divus* and *Germanias* to the Britons in 15.

ut suae, 'as though it were a personal affront.'

§ 3. **igitur** again refers to the Roman and not the British point of view.

novus: with *delictis* (dat.) a post-classical construction. Translate, 'a stranger to.'

paenitentiae: abstract for concrete, like *ira et victoria* above.

prioribus, 'the late outbreak.'

§ 4. **nullis . . . experimentis:** ablative of description, co-ordinated with the adj. *segnior*, 'lacking military experience.' *et nullis* for the usual *neque ullis.*

curandi: *provinciam* is felt as the object of this as well as of *tenuit.* Cf. *curarum* in 9. 3, used of the duties of office.

ignoscere vitiis blandientibus, 'to excuse attractive vices' (such as sapped the energy of their conquerors), Furneaux. Or perhaps the meaning is 'to allow the spread of such vices among themselves,' another reason for the Roman slackness.

civilium armorum: i. e. the wars of A. D. 69.

discordia: cf. 7. 5 for the facts.

§ 5. **pacti:** sc. *sunt.* The subjects are *exercitus* and *dux.* The sentence explains *precario.*

§ 6. **nec** = *ne . . . quidem,* which means (1) 'not even,' (2) 'nor . . . on his part' (as here).

agitavit Britanniam disciplina, 'gave Britain trouble by employing his troops against it.' For the facts cf. 8. 1.

nisi quod introduces the reservation which spoils the parallel between the rule of Bolanus and his predecessor. Cf. 6. 1.

XVII

§ 1. **recuperavit:** said from the point of view of a partisan of Vespasian, 'rescued from usurpation,' or 'restored to order.'

§ 2. **aut victoria . . . aut bello,** 'either conquered or overran.'

§ 3. **alterius,** 'any other,' for *alius,* which Tacitus never uses. Cf. 5. 4. Contrast *alium ducem* in 22. 2.

curam famamque: a hendiadys. The *fama* is derived from the *cura,* 'administration' (cf. *curandi,* 16. 4).

sustinuitque: if the text is sound, *-que* must have the force of an emphatic 'but.'

Frontinus: he was thrice consul, and is famous as a writer on aqueducts and the art of war.

quantum licebat: i.e. as far as he could be under a *régime* which repressed conspicuous merit.

super, 'besides,' a post-classical use.

eluctatus: used transitively by an extension of the meaning from 'to struggle out' to 'to struggle out *from*' something, i.e. to surmount. Cf. *horresco,* 'I shudder,' then, with acc. 'I shudder at.'

XVIII

§ 1. **velut omissa expeditione,** 'in the idea that there was to be no campaign that year,' because Agricola did not arrive until midsummer.

ad occasionem verterentur, 'were preparing for a surprise.' In 22. 3 it is implied that the winter was the favourite time for an attempt to surprise the Roman garrisons.

§ 2. **agentem:** *agere* is often used absolutely by Tacitus with the meaning 'to be on duty,' 'to be stationed.'

erecta (sc. *erat*), 'was in a state of excitement.' Generally *erectus* is used with a defining phrase, such as *ad spem.*

§ 3. **quibus bellum volentibus erat:** a rare extension of the dative of reference with a complement imitated from the Greek τοῦτο βουλομένῳ μοι ἐστί. The dative *quibus* denotes that the persons are interested in the war, and *volentibus* in agreement adds the form which the interest assumes. A strange variation is used in *Ann.* xv. 35 *haec plebi volentia fuere,* where the feeling is transferred from the person to the thing that caused the feeling.

probare . . . opperiri: historic infinitives.

ac adds an important limitation of the preceding, 'and yet.'

animum opperiri, 'were waiting to test the temper' (before following the example of revolt).

numeri: in the technical sense of 'detachments.'

praesumpta, 'taken for granted'; lit., 'enjoyed in anticipation.' For the classical *animo praecipere* (Dräger).

tarda et contraria: in apposition to the three previously mentioned circumstances. (In classical Latin *quae res tardae erant.*) *tarda* has an active sense.

potius: here an adjective, not adverb.

ire obviam discrimini: cf. 14. 4 *terga occasioni patefecit.* In both instances the verb is used literally, and the noun in the dative metaphorically.

vexillis, 'detachments' of the legionaries serving under a *vexillum* (instead of the regular *signa*) for special duties. Cf. App. C, Inscr. 7 and 11.

ipse ante agmen: sc. *incedens.* The style is very compressed here.

quo: generally used with a comparative in final clauses.

§ 4. **instandum famae:** i.e. that he must maintain the prestige already won.

terrorem: we should expect a neutral word, e.g. *eventum*, but it is implied that Agricola's first operations had caused panic (*caesa prope universa gente*).

§ 5. **dubiis:** Agricola had not been able to foresee the exact scope of his operations in this campaign. The conjecture *subitis* gives good sense, but is not necessary.

ratio, 'resource,' as shown by the following sentence.

auxiliarium: probably Batavi, who would be able to recognize the fording-places from the experience gained in their swampy country. Dräger compares 29. 2 and thinks Britons are meant, but Agricola is not likely to have had a corps raised from this district.

mare expectabant: a strange and sweeping expression to represent what must have been to the Britons the strange fact of the sea being turned, as it were, into dry land.

§ 6. **quippe cui** gives the reason for the judgement formed of Agricola.

officiorum ambitum, 'canvassing for marks of attention' from the provincials. See note on 9. 3.

§ 7. **nec:** with both *usus* and *vocabat.* It might have negatived singly either *usus* or *vocabat.* The sense is the only guide.

in vanitatem: cf. *in iactationem*, 5. 2.

victos continuisse is the direct object of *vocabat.*

laureatis: sc. *litteris.* So in 28. 2 *liburnica* with ellipse of *navis.* Cf. our similar use in expressions like 'a black' (sc. man).

aestimantibus: probably ablative 'absolute' with subject unexpressed, or it may be dative, like *transgressis*, 10. 4 (where see note). In either case it bears that vague relation to the verb which led to the misuse of the term 'absolute,' i.e. 'unconnected.'

quanta . . . tacuisset: one of the concise Latin construc-

tions where the words which bear the main stress of the sentence are grammatically subordinated. We should say rather, 'what his hopes for the future must be, when he had,' &c.

XIX

§ 1. **ceterum**: cf. 11. 1.

§ 2. **orsus . . . coercuit** = *orsus est et coercuit.* *Orsus* is not past with reference to *coercuit*, but with reference to the time at which Tacitus wrote.

domum suam: i.e. his household subordinates.

nihil, &c.: a verb indicating action in general is often omitted in Tacitus.

The language is very compressed here. Tacitus means, 'Agricola did not employ freedmen in the public service, but soldiers, and these he chose with discretion.' The reference is to the employment of privileged soldiers (*beneficiarii*) in the lower branches of the public service. Cf. App. C, Inscr. 3.

§ 3. **exsequi**, 'to follow up,' i.e. 'to punish.'

commodare: the verb has the idea of adaptation. Tr. 'to mete out.'

poena . . . contentus, 'satisfied with nothing short of punishment.' The following *paenitentia* really suggested *contentus*, otherwise we should have had a verb of more general meaning (e.g. *uti*) with *poena.*

non peccaturos: used as substantive, 'men who were not likely to go wrong.'

cum peccassent: subjunctive of repeated action; cf. on *ubi poscerent*, 9. 3.

§ 4. **munerum**: i.e. those just mentioned, viz. corn contributions and direct taxation.

quae . . . tolerabantur: the whole substantival clause is subject of the ablative absolute phrase.

namque, &c., explains *in quaestum reperta.* The corn in question seems to have been that requisitioned at a fixed price for the use of the governor and his troops.

The first hardship affected those parts of Britain which did not grow sufficient corn to meet the Roman demands. The Britons, therefore, had to buy the corn from the Roman granaries. 'For they were forced to wait in mockery before the granaries, which were not even opened (there was no need for the corn to change hands, as they were only buying it in order to sell it again immediately to the Romans at the regulation price), and actually (*ultro*) to buy their corn and play at being paid (i.e. payment to the Britons would be a mere farce, because, as they had to buy at fancy prices in order to sell at the fixed price, there would be no money coming to them').

ludere pretio is a very doubtful phrase. See Appendix A.

5. **devortia itinerum**, &c.: a second hardship. Where the

corn was readily forthcoming from the Britons, the extra profit was made by ordering it to be delivered at some inaccessible place, and then taking money for an 'accommodation' more to the convenience of the Britons.

proximis hibernis: abl. abs. (concessive), 'though the winter-quarters of the troops (for whom the corn was required) were quite near at hand.'

quod omnibus in promptu erat: i.e. the corn, which was abundant for all, but was made a source of profit for a few.

XX

§ 1. **paci:** cf. 'Peace hath her victories | No less renown'd than war.' Milton, *Sonnets*, xiii. The phrase is an imitation of the Greek use of *περιτιθέναι* or *περιβάλλειν*, cf. Thuc. vi. 89 *ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀτιμίαν περιέθετε.*

incuria vel intolerantia refers respectively to governors who merely winked at oppression and those who actively practised it. *intolerantia* = want of self-control.

§ 2. **multus in agmine,** 'he was continually with his troops on the march.' The phrase is used by Sallust, *Jug.* 96. 3.

modestiam, 'discipline.' Notice Tacitus' love of variety in the use of the abstract here followed by the concrete *disiectos.*

disiectos, 'stragglers.'

quo minus . . . popularetur: we should expect *quin* after a negatived principal verb in this 'adversative' sense. This use of *quominus* or *quin* is derived from their use after verbs of 'hindrance.' Agricola's action, expressed negatively in the principal sentence, is regarded as not hindering, and so as resulting in the action of the *quominus* clause. This at least is the origin of such uses as the present, in which however the clause does not really express the result, but another aspect of the principal sentence. We should say, 'he gave the enemy no respite, *but* ravaged,' &c. Cf. Terence, *Hecyra* i. 1. 7 *hortor, ne te cuiusquam misereat, quin spolies,* &c.

ex aequo, 'on terms of equality' with the Romans.

circumdatae sunt: see Appendix A.

transierit: viz. *in dicionem Romanam.*

XXI

§ 1. **in bella faciles** = *ad bella proni*: Silver Latin affects these poetical variants from the usual phrase.

hortari privatim, adiuvare publice: i.e. Agricola used his private influence with the leading men, and rendered his advice feasible by grants of money to the states.

castigando: i.e. in words.

honoris: the distinction gained by public service. The genitive is objective.

§ 2. **ingenia**, 'natural ability,' opposed to *studia*, 'industry.' The meaning is, 'he extolled the natural ability of the Britons as superior to that of the Gauls, who improved their natural gifts by culture. Therefore the Britons should cultivate theirs also.'

§ 3. **honor**: sc. *esse coepit.*

et . . . toga: explanatory of *habitus.*

idque: by the ordinary Latin idiom *id* would have been attracted to agree with the complement *humanitas.* Cf. 46. 2.

humanitas, 'civilization.'

XXII

§ 1. **annus . . . aperuit**: *annus* is personified, as in 7. 1.

Tanaum: if Agricola advanced along the east coast, this may be the Tyne; if along the west, the Solway Firth. But the statement that he discovered new tribes and the implication in 23. 1, that the next year's advance to the line of the Clyde and Forth was little beyond a more thorough subjugation of country already traversed, seem to demand a more northerly locality. It is quite impossible to determine its position with certainty.

vastatis . . . nationibus: for the expression *vastare nationes,* instead of *vastare agros nationum,* cf. 41. 2 *militares viri . . . expugnati.*

quamquam conflictatum: cf. note on *quamquam incuriosa,* 1. 1.

§ 2. **opportunitates locorum** = *opportuna loca.*

crebrae eruptiones; nam, &c.: Tacitus has just said that the forts could not be *assaulted* successfully. He now says that the garrisons could even take the offensive (*crebrae eruptiones*), for there was no question of a *blockade*; they were so well provisioned. The difficulty of following Tacitus' train of thought is due to the common Latin idiom by which a rejected alternative is often not stated explicitly, but suggested implicitly in a sentence giving the reason for its rejection. In other words, two distinct ideas—a fact and its causal explanation—are run together.

§ 3. **quisque**: i.e. each commander of a garrison.

irritis, 'baffled.' In classical prose *irritus* is only used of things. Cf. note on *securum,* 30. 1.

pensare = *compensare*: for the fact cf. 18. 1 *cum . . . hostes ad occasionem verterentur.*

iuxta = *pariter.*

§ 4. **seu centurio,** &c.: *seu* (*sive*) generally connects verbs, not nouns.

praefectus: sc. *cohortis*, commander of a cohort of auxiliaries.

§ 5. **nihil . . . secretum**, 'no hidden resentment.'

ut . . . non timeres, 'so that you would not have feared.' On the potential subjunctive cf. notes on 12. 3 *internoscas* and 44. 2 *crederes*.

offendere, 'to give offence openly.'

XXIII

§ 1. **obtinendis**, 'securing.' Dative of 'aim' with *insumpta*; *in* with the ablative would be more usual.

pateretur: the imperfect subjunctive because the condition was still unfulfilled. The limitation of the frontier, short of the entire conquest, was as incompatible with Roman ambition when Tacitus wrote as in Agricola's time.

inventus: sc. *erat*, rhetorically for *esset*; 'here was a frontier ready to hand.'

in ipsa Britannia: in contrast to Caledonia on the other side of the Forth and Clyde. Strictly speaking, Caledonia was also in Britain.

diversi maris: singular for plural, after the manner of poetry.

sinus, 'expanse.' *propior*, viz. to the Romans, i. e. Southern.

XXIV

§ 1. **nave prima** probably means 'in the first Roman ship to cross those waters.' See Appendix A.

aspicit: for classical *spectat*. Cantyre is probably the part of Britain in question.

si quidem explains *spem*, the hope of realizing the advantages offered by the position of Ireland.

medio = *in medio*.

miscuerit: aorist potential; 'would serve to weld together the strongest part of the Empire (i. e. the Western provinces) by the mutual conveniences it offers.'

§ 2. **nostri maris**: *nostrum mare* was the regular Latin name for the Mediterranean.

melius . . . cogniti: i. e. better known than the general character of the land and its people.

On the question of Roman traffic with Ireland, Prebendary Scarth (*Roman Britain*, p. 119) says, 'The objects found (in Ireland) tend to show, that although the Roman arms did not extend into that island, yet their commerce did, and this was probably carried on through Anglesea and the shores of North Wales.' See Appendix A.

§ 3. **ex eo**: i. e. *ex Agricola*.

debellari . . . Hiberniam: *debellare* is generally intransitive and used impersonally in the passive, e. g. *debellatum est*, 'an end

was made of the war,' cf. 26. 4. The use of the passive with a personal subject (corresponding to a transitive use of the active) is poetical.

si . . . arma: sc. *essent.*

XXV

§ 1. **ceterum**: cf. note on 11. 1.

amplexus: sc. *animo*, 'comprehending in his plan of campaign.'

ultra: here used adjectivally with *gentium*. This attributival use of adverbs is common in Greek, but was first used frequently by Livy in Latin.

infesta hostibus, 'beset by the enemy.' Look out *infestus* in the dictionary. *hostibus*, ablative of means.

exercitus itinera go together.

in partem virium, 'to form part of his force.' The fleet had probably been used by previous commanders merely for transport service, and was now for the first time combined with the army in offensive operations.

cum . . . bellum impelleretur: a fine phrase, suggesting the onward sweep of the fleet.

isdem castris: notice the omission (frequent in Tacitus) of *in* with local ablative.

mixti copiis et laetitia, 'sharing their rations and exultation' (Furneaux).

silvarum . . . profunda: cf. on *extrema terrarum*, 12. 4.

hinc terra et hostis corresponds to *silvarum . . . profunda*; *hinc victus Oceanus* to *tempestatum . . . adversa*. *victus* goes also with *terra et hostis*.

§ 2. **Britannos quoque . . . obstupefaciebat**: *quoque* with *Britannos*, not with the whole sentence, as the Romans were not also *obstupefacti*. 'As for the Britons on their part (*quoque*), they were amazed at the sight of the fleet.' Cf. 12. 6 *gignit et Oceanus margarita*.

§ 3. **ad manus**, &c.: this sentence gives the result of the terror inspired in the Britons.

uti mos est, &c., explains the exaggeration of the reports. Cf. 30. 4 *omne ignotum pro magnifico est.*

oppugnare with *adorti*.

metum . . . addiderant: viz. to the alarm occasioned by the preparations themselves and the exaggerated reports of them. The expression is very concise.

regrediendum . . . potius quam pellerentur: notice the two types of *potius quam* constructions.

(1) with subjunctive (as here), cf. Cic. *Tusc.* ii. 22. 52 *perpessus est omnia potius quam conscios . . . indicaret*, 'he suffered everything rather than betray his accomplices.' Here it rejects an alternative *course of action*. The subj. is final owing to the idea of *prevention*.

(2) with same mood as in principal sentence, cf. Livy xlii. 29. 11 *fecerat potius cur suspectus esset Romanis quam satis statuerat utram foveret partem*, 'he had rather given the Romans cause to mistrust him than actually determined which side to take.' Here it rejects a less correct *version of fact.*

But even in meaning (1) construction (2) is generally used (always by Cicero and Caesar) where the preceding verb is in the *gerund or future participle.*

In case (1) Livy often has *potius quam ut*, but the *ut* has no grammatical justification.

specie, 'under the guise (of),' 'posing (as).'

pluribus = *compluribus.*

§ 4. **diviso et ipse . . . exercitu:** notice the position of *ipse* in the ablative absolute. It is logically the subject of the action denoted by the abl. abs. phrase. Cf. note on *ipsi*, 1. 3.

XXVI

§ 1. **invalidam:** perhaps because it had not been made up to its full strength after its disaster in Boudicca's rising.

trepidationem adds detail to *somnum.*

§ 2. **iter . . . edoctus:** verbs of teaching take two direct objects. (1) I teach (i.e. impart) a *subject*; (2) I teach a *person.* When (2) is expressed in a passive form, the accusative of (1) is still retained, as its relation to the idea of teaching is unchanged.

vestigiis, 'on their track.' Ablative of 'road by which' one goes.

luce, 'daybreak. *signa*, the standards of the relieving force.

§ 3. **securi pro salute:** *pro* depends on the idea of 'fear' in the latter part of the word *se-curi.*

quin etiam: put out of place to give greater emphasis to *ultro.*

donec pulsi: sc. *sunt.*

utroque exercitu: i.e. the relieving and the defending Roman armies.

§ 4. **quod nisi:** cf. note on 16. 2.

debellatum . . . foret: cf. note on 24. 3 *debellari . . . Hiberniam.*

XXVII

§ 1. **cuius:** sc. *victoriae.*

penetrandam: *penetrare* is intransitive in classical Latin.

inveniendum . . . cursu: we should probably say, 'that they should fight battle after battle till they found.'

fremebant: the subject is the collective noun *exercitus.*

§ 2. **illi modo, &c.,** refers sarcastically to the *ignari specie prudentium* of 25. 3.

§ 3. **non virtute se,** &c.: i.e. they thought that defective strategy might more easily be improved than defective valour.

occasione: the unforeseen contingency, almost = 'luck'; *arte*, the strategy by which Agricola turned it to his advantage.

quo minus: cf. on 20. 2 *quominus . . . popularetur*.

XXVIII

§ 1. **transmissa**: in accordance with the natural principle that auxiliary troops should be removed from the home associations which would keep alive their patriotism. Cf. the Carthaginian plan of holding Africa by means of Spaniards and Spain by means of Africans.

§ 2. **exemplum . . . habebantur,** 'were attached as,' &c.

uno . . . retro remigante: the want of a past participle active led occasionally to the incorrect use of the present participle with a past meaning (a common use in English).

suspectis: i.e. on account of the other's escape.

ut miraculum, 'to the amazement of the natives,' explained by *nondum vulgato rumore*.

§ 3. **raptum**: supine with *egressi*; co-ordinate with *ad aquandum*.

eo . . . inopiae: go together = *ad eam inopiam*.

vescerentur: here used transitively; generally used intransitively with ablative of means.

circumvecti Britanniam: they started from the west of Scotland, north of the Clyde, sailed round the north of Scotland, and were then driven eastwards to the mouth of the Elbe (where some Suebian tribes dwelt). From here they made their way westwards to the Frisii on the north coast of Holland.

§ 5. **fuere quos . . . inlustravit**: the indefinite phrase *sunt qui* is generally followed by the subjunctive.

per commercia, 'in the course of traffic.'

indicium, 'the story.'

XXIX

§ 1. **ictus . . . amisit**: *ictus* refers to the same event and the same time as *amisit*. We have often had this use of the past participle passive before; but generally the participle is appended as explanatory of the verb. Here the verb explains the participle, and we should have expected *ictus est, amisso filio*.

fortium: used sarcastically of the Stoics, who made a parade of indifference to misfortune.

ambitiose, 'ostentatiously,' cf. 42, end, *ambitiosa morte*, and 30. 6.

§ 2. **praedata . . . faceret**: cf. note on § 1. The past participle

of *deponent* verbs is quite regularly used of time simultaneous with that of the finite verb.

incertum terrorem: notice how usage often employs an adjective with a noun with which it is only *indirectly* connected. Here the uncertainty should strictly be attributed to the *Britons*, not to their alarm. This 'suggestive' use of adjectives is common in poetry, cf. *caecus pulvis*, 'dust that makes blind.' But many such expressions have passed into ordinary language, cf. our 'joyful surprise,' 'happy hours,' &c.

expedito: i. e. without heavy baggage, such as artillery.

Graupium: the modern name 'Grampians' perpetuates the false reading of the earliest printed text (that of Puteolanus). For the site of the battle I have accepted the suggestion of Sir James H. Ramsay. He traces Agricola's advance by a line of camps of about forty to fifty acres, which would correspond with the numbers of his troops. The northernmost of these camps is at Delvine, and here the battle-field may be placed.

pugnae prioris: i. e. the battle narrated in 26.

§ 4. **iamque,** &c.: notice the vivid use of the 'picturesque' imperfect tense which brings the scene before us, and the poetical colour given to the description by the borrowing of Vergil's *cruda . . . viridisque senectus*, *Aen.* vi. 304.

XXX

§ 1. **magnus mihi animus est,** 'I have a great confidence,' has the usual construction of *confido* and *spero*.

universi . . . expertes: explains *causas belli*.

nullae . . . Romana: explains *necessitatem nostram*.

ultra: attributival to *terrae*. Cf. note on 25. 1.

securum: in classical Latin is used only of persons. Cf. note on *incertum*, 29. 2. Like *tutissima* below, *securum* here means 'rendering secure.'

§ 3. **priores pugnae . . . habebant**: Tacitus speaks of the battles in terms which are strictly only appropriate to the combatants. The meaning is that the Britons in previous defeats could look to the prowess of the Caledonians to remedy their ill-fortune.

eoque: i. e. because they were the noblest race (children of the soil), they were placed where they could be least contaminated. For the Roman reply see 34. 1-2.

siti: of persons = *positi*.

§ 4. **nos . . . defendit**: repeats the idea of the previous sentence under a bolder form. 'We are the remotest dwellers on the earth, the last home of liberty, and up to this day fame's most secret corner has had us in its safekeeping.'

terrarum ac libertatis: a bold conjunction of concrete and abstract.

recessus ipse ac sinus famae: *sinus* adds to *recessus* the idea of personal protection. Cf. 4. 2 *in huius sinu indulgentiaque.*

atque omne, &c.: another reason (besides their seclusion) for their remaining so long undisturbed. See Appendix A.

pro magnifico est, 'is magnified' or 'exaggerated.'

§ 5. **sed nunc, &c.** : i. e. now there is an end to our seclusion and, as no retreat is possible to us, we are brought to bay.

nihil nisi fluctus: this reminds us of the appeal of the Britons to Aetius in A.D. 446. 'To Aetius thrice consul the groans of the Britons. The barbarians drive us to the sea; the sea drives us back to the barbarians; we are either slaughtered or drowned.'

effugeris: aorist subjunctive, 'you would try to escape' (potential).

§ 6. **ambitiosi:** *ambitiosus* is used in (*a*) an active, and (*b*) a passive sense.

(*a*) courting favour; in a good or bad sense; 'ambitious,' 'vainglorious.'

Of things, 42. 5 *ambitiosa morte.*

(*b*) passive; courted for favour (*ambitiosus et qui ambit et qui ambitur*, Gellius, 9. 12). So here, 'seeking homage.'

quos . . . satiaverit: *satiaverit* is possibly a consecutive subjunctive representing an unsubordinated *satiavit*, but is more probably a subordinated potential subjunctive.

soli omnium: take together.

opes atque inopiam . . . concupiscunt: i.e. rich and poor alike are endangered by their lust of conquest. For the expression *inopiam concupiscunt* cf. St. Luke xix. 26 'from him *that hath not*, even that he hath shall be taken away from him.'

§ 7. **imperium, pacem** are both objective complements to *appellant.*

XXXI

§ 1. **alibi servituri:** cf. note on 28. 1.

si . . . effugiant . . . polluuntur: the indicative in the apodosis states the universal fact; the subjunctive of the protasis, a possible contingency. Cf. note on 13. 1.

nomine amicorum: tr. 'by persons professing to be friends.' The phrase is loosely kept from the active construction which Tacitus had in mind: 'The Romans dishonour them under the name of friends.' He actually says, 'they are dishonoured under the name of friends,' leaving the precise meaning to be made out by the intelligence of the reader.

§ 2. **annus** = *annona*, 'the yearly produce.'

in frumentum, 'to pay the corn requisition,' not tithe corn—the Britons paid a money tax (*tributum*) instead—but the corn requisitioned for the use of the general and his troops.

G 2

With *in frumentum*, as well as *in tributum*, a word like *consumuntur* must be supplied from *conteruntur*.

silvis . . . emuniendis, 'in making roads through woods.' It is a variant from the ordinary construction *viis per silvas muniendis*. Roads to allow the rapid movement of troops and colonies of veterans to act as garrisons were the steps always taken by the Romans to secure a conquered country.

semel: contrasted with *quotidie* below.

nata servituti: a bold use of the dative of 'aim.' Cf. note on *honori*, 3. 4.

ultro, 'besides.'

emit: contrasted with *veneunt* is explained by *tributum* above; *pascit*, contrasted with *aluntur* by *frumentum*.

§ 3. **sic . . . petimur**: Calgacus does not follow out his simile quite consistently. There would be no parallel to the mockery by the fellow-slaves in the case of the Roman subjects. *Viles* serves as the nearest suitable equivalent, and this leads to the further deviation in the bitter reflection that they were not even worth keeping alive.

neque enim explains *viles*.

arva nobis aut metalla: Calgacus is speaking of Caledonia, not of Britain as a whole. Cf. Inscription 8, Appendix C.

quibus exercendis: *exercere* can be used with *arva* and *metalla* in the sense of 'to work,' but hardly, except by zeugma, with *portus* in the sense of 'to construct.'

§ 4. **porro** introduces another reason why their extirpation was sought.

§ 5. **Brigantes**: the tribes which took part in Boudicca's rising were the Iceni and Trinobantes; but the error is probably purposely made by Calgacus (or Tacitus), as the Brigantes were the immediate neighbours of the Caledonians, and their example would be likely to have a more stimulating effect.

potuere expresses a fact. They were able to, and actually did, burn the colony and storm the camp. They were able to, but did not, shake off the Roman yoke. That they did not carry their ability into action in the latter case is shown by the clause of 'unfulfilled condition,' *nisi . . . vertisset*. In this latter case we turn by 'could have' to express unrealized power.

Notice *vertisset* intransitive.

in libertatem, &c., 'to secure our freedom, not (like the Brigantes) to have to regret our failure.' On the reading see Appendix A.

XXXII

§ 1. **tenent** = *continent*.

nisi si (ironical) = *nisi forte*. Notice that the mood in such uses is the *indicative*.

pudet dictu: a unique combination of the two constructions *pudendum dictu* and *pudet dicere*. This phenomenon of two

possible constructions occurring to the mind at once and resulting in a combination ('contamination') of the two is the explanation of very many syntactical irregularities in language.

plerosque: as so often in Tacitus means 'very many.'

diutius tamen, &c., 'having however been longer,' &c.

fide: see note on i. 3.

adfectu: *adfectus*, in the definite sense of 'affection' or 'attachment,' is late Latin.

§ 2. **terror**: probably not fear of the Romans, but fear inspired in the Romans.

infirma: ironically for *nulla*.

removeris: perfect (or more properly future perfect) subjunctive of the 'indefinite second person.'

alia: i. e. other than Rome, 'alien.'

§ 3. **nostras manus**, 'hosts that will take our part'; explained by what follows.

§ 4. **tamquam** = *ut*.

vacua: because their garrisons would be required to serve with the main army.

inter male parentes, &c.: one of the concise expressions by which Tacitus so often avoids clauses. It is equivalent to *cum alteri* (*Britanni*) *male pareant, alteri* (*cives Romani*) *iniuste imperent* (Dräger); cf. 26. 1.

municipia: we only know of one, *Verulamium*. It is probably used vaguely in the plural like *coloniae*.

§ 5. **hic dux, hic exercitus**, &c.: on this side you have all that appeals to a martial instinct; on the other side you have all the horrors of slavery.

ulcisci: Calgacus speaks as though his hearers had already suffered.

est = *positum est*, 'depends on.'

XXXIII

§ 1. **ut barbaris moris**: sc. *est*. *moris* is a sort of possessive genitive, 'belongs to the custom,' 'comes under the head of custom.' We should say 'is the custom' (which is also the usual Latin idiom, *ut mos est*).

agmina: sc. *conspiciebantur*, or some such word. Translate by 'troops in motion.'

audentissimi cuiusque procursu: an ablative of cause (explaining *fulgores*). Translate by a clause, 'as the boldest darted out from the line.'

adhuc: post-classical for *insuper*.

§ 2. **auspiciis imperii Romani**: Seiler suggests that the abstract *imperii* is put for the concrete *imperatoris*, because the seven years had been served under three different emperors. As the Emperor was commander-in-chief, all victories were

won under his auspices, and he alone could claim the 'triumph.' Cf. 40. 1.

expeditionibus . . . proeliis: a sort of ablative of 'time when' with *paenituit.*

adversus . . . naturam: refers to the difficulties of the march, cf. 25. 1.

§ 3. **non fama,** &c., 'not by talking of it and guessing at it, but by occupying it in arms' (Furneaux).

inventa, '*really* discovered,' now that it is known in its whole length and breadth.

§ 4. **vota virtusque in aperto,** 'it is now open to you to realize your vows and display your valour.' The phrase is used pointedly in contrast to *latebris. in aperto,* which strictly only suits *virtus,* is used with *vota* by zeugma.

prona: cf. note on *pronum,* 1. 2.

§ 5. **in frontem** has only a vague grammatical construction. It depends roughly on the understood datives *superantibus, evadentibus, transeuntibus* suggested by the infinitives above.

in his omnia: sc. *posita sunt.*

§ 6. **proinde**: the natural sequence of thought is as follows: 'Flight (*terga*) is not safe; therefore the path of glory (i.e. a bold resistance) is also the path of safety.' But this sequence is broken into by the sentence *et honesta mors . . . potior,* which suggests death instead of safety as the reward of resistance. This sentence (suggested by the mention of flight just before, which would lead to a *mors turpis*) would in English be subordinated: 'Therefore, *though* an honourable death is preferable to a life of disgrace, yet,' &c. Similarly in Greek a subordinate idea is often co-ordinated with the main thought by means of μέν . . . δέ.

fuerit: the sense requires this to be taken as potential subjunctive rather than as future-perfect indicative.

XXXIV

§ 1. **constitisset,** 'were marshalled against you.'

decora, 'glorious deeds.'

furto noctis, 'by a night surprise.'

debellastis: cf. note on 24. 3.

ceterorum . . . fugacissimi: this Greek idiom, imitated by Milton in his lines:

'Adam, the goodliest man of men since born
His sons; the fairest of her daughters, Eve,'

rests on a confusion of the comparative and superlative forms of expression, 'more than the rest,' 'most of all.' Cf. note on *pudet dictu,* 32. 1. See Appendix A.

§ 2. **quomodo** (with a following *sic* or *ita*) = *quemadmodum.*

penetrantibus: sc. *nobis,* abl. absolute, or perhaps dative as *transgressis* in 10. 4.

ruere: generally taken as aorist (the plural is not uncommon with *quisque*). To avoid the awkward combination of the aorist and imperfect tenses, it may perhaps be better to take *ruere* as historical infinitive, which is equivalent to an imperfect indicative.

numerus, 'the mass.'

§ 3. **quos quod . . . invenistis**: suggested by *ignavorum*, &c. Being *ignavi* they might have been expected to get out of our way. 'As to your having come across them; it is not that they have made a stand, but that they have been caught in a trap.'

novissimae res, 'their extremity.' See Appendix A.

in his vestigiis, 'where they stand.'

ederetis: final; the purpose is fate's. *edere victoriam*, a bold extension of the common phrase *edere spectaculum*.

§ 4. **transigite**, 'have done with.'

quinquaginta: a round number for forty-two. The expedition of Claudius was in A.D. 43.

XXXV

§ 1. **eminebat . . . consecuta est**: notice the difference of tense.

§ 2. **octo milium**: genitive of description.

mediam aciem firmarent, 'should make a strong centre.' Cf. 14. 4.

ingens victoriae decus: in apposition to the sentence. *victoriae*, dative; like *victoribus* in 33. 4 = 'if they conquered.' It corresponds to *si pellerentur*.

bellandi: depends on *decus*, which it explains: 'the glory, namely, of an action fought without shedding Roman blood.'

auxilium: in apposition with *legiones* only (and not with the whole sentence *legiones . . . stetere* like *decus* above).

§ 3. **velut insurgerent**: why *velut*, as they did actually rise? Perhaps the idea in Tacitus' mind (probably the tiers of seats in a theatre) was more figurative than his language, which does not seem to need the apologetic *velut*.

media campi: the space between the two armies.

covinnarius eques: the *covinnus* was a scythe-bearing chariot.

§ 4. **porrectior**, 'too much extended' in proportion to its depth; i.e. 'too thin.'

promptior: i.e. than the *plerique* just mentioned.

adversis: dative, as in 22. 4 *comis bonis*.

ante vexilla: i.e. at the head of the auxiliary infantry.

XXXVI

§ 1. **gladiis, caetris**: seem to correspond in form to the national claymore and targe of the Highlanders of later times.

excutere, 'parry' with *gladiis*; *vitare* with *caetris*.

superfundere: Prof. Gudeman compares Hom. *Iliad*, v. 618 *Τρῶες δ' ἐπὶ δούρατ' ἔχευαν ὀξέα.*

Tungrorum: cf. App. C, Inscr. 5.

ad mucrones: the Roman swords were short and adapted for stabbing. Hence, instead of the usual *ad gladios*, the distinctive feature of the Roman sword is brought out.

inhabile (sc. *erat*), 'awkward,' 'difficult to deal with'; explained by *parva . . . gerentibus*; a further explanation being added in *nam . . . tolerabant.*

complexum armorum, 'a grapple.' The phrase is only used here.

tolerabant: *tolerare* with an inanimate subject is very unusual.

§ 2. **miscere ictus**, 'deal blow on blow,' 'rain blows.'

§ 3. **equitum turmae**, &c.: the Roman cavalry, after defeating the *covinnarius eques* (35. 3), charged the enemies' infantry. Of course, the chariots must have been cleared out of the way before the infantry battle began.

recentem . . . intulerant: i.e. by the defeat of the *covinnarii.*

densis . . . locis: ablatives of means with *haerebant*, 'were checked.'

impellerentur: the subject seems to be the Roman infantry; the horses were those of their own cavalry. The two points in which the Romans fought at a disadvantage were (1) the difficulty of keeping their footing in their struggle up hill; (2) the pressure of their own cavalry, which seems to have been forced by the nature of the ground upon the infantry.

ac saepe, &c.: again a point in which (as it seems from the context) the Romans suffered.

transversos: notice how in this and similar expressions the point of view taken by the Romans is that of the *attackers*; we should say, 'on the flanks,' taking the point of view of the *attacked.*

XXXVII

§ 1. **summa collium**: cf. note on 12. 4 *extrema*, &c.

vacui, 'idly'; explained by *pugnae expertes.*

coeperant, ni . . . opposuisset: a concise way of stating that the movement actually begun (hence indicative *coeperant*) was checked, cf. note on 4. 4. The full expression of the thought would require *et circumissent* after *coeperant*, but the narrative would be much less vigorous.

subita belli, 'emergencies.'

§ 2. **transvectaeque**: *-que* appends a sentence explanatory of *consilium.*

§ 3. **hostium** depends on both *caterrae armatorum* and *quidam*, which illustrate the two contrasted types suggested by *prout . . . erat.*

praestare: a variant on the usual *praebere* or *dare.*

aliquando: imitated from Verg. *Aen.* ii. 367 *quondam etiam victis redit in praecordia virtus.*

appropinquaverunt: the subject is *Romani.* *idem* refers to *victis.*

§ 4. **primos sequentium**: opposed to *collecti*; *incautos* to *locorum gnari.*

quod ni: for *quod*, cf. note on 16. 2.

frequens: like 20. 2 *multus in agmine.*

validas . . . iussisset: both foot and horse are employed in this service. The former were ordered to act (you must supply a word of general import from *persultare*, which refers strictly to the cavalry only) *indaginis modo*, 'as a hunting-cordon,' i.e. to surround the woods; the latter to scour the woods, dismounting where the ground was too densely overgrown.

equitem: acquires emphasis from the contrast with *partem equitum dimissis equis.* We must bring out this emphasis more explicitly in translation: 'but retaining their horses where the ground was clearer.'

The construction of the sentence is as follows:—

ni iussisset {
(infantry) *cohortes indaginis modo*
(cavalry) (1) *partem dimissis equis, sicubi artiora erant,*
(2) *equitem* (i.e. *non dimissis equis*) *rariores* (*silvas*)
} *silvas persultare.*

§ 5. **rari et vitabundi in vicem**: repeats in an affirmative form *non agminibus nec alius alium respectantes.*

in vicem: for the classical *inter se*, cf. note on 6. 1.

nox et satietas: concise combination of an external and an internal cause for ceasing from the pursuit.

XXXVIII

§ 1. **nox quidem**: *quidem* by emphasizing marks a coming contrast, viz. with *proximus dies.*

gaudio: i.e. the joy of victory.

vocare integros: i.e. shout orders to their unwounded comrades.

in vicem: here correctly used of *change.* Cf. note on 6. 1.

aliqua: contemptuous; it expresses the diversity and futility of their plans.

miscere = *communicare*, with the added sense of confusion.

pignorum: pledges (of love), i.e. wives and children.

§ 2. **tamquam misererentur**: *tamquam* is often used by Tacitus to denote not pretence, but the real point of view of the person acting, like Greek ὡς. Cf. 15. 1, 3.

dies . . . aperuit: cf. 22. 1 *annus aperuit*, and 7. 1.

secreti colles: the epithet *secreti* was probably suggested by

the thought of the Britons lurking in the hills rather than by the secluded position of the hills themselves. Cf. note on 29. 2.

§ 3. **incerta**: translate, 'were lost.' From Lucan, viii. 3.

spargi bellum, 'hostilities be spread over a large area.' The phrase is borrowed from Lucan, ii. 682; iii. 64.

§ 4. **praecipit**: with infinitive (instead of *ut* and subjunctive), as in 46. 3. On *praefectus classis* cf. App. C, Inscr. 6.

vires, 'forces,' with which to make descents on the coast, &c. For the results of this voyage cf. 10. 5.

et praecesserat: *et* = 'and moreover' (i. e. in addition to their actual fighting strength, they were helped by the terror of the Roman name).

novarum, 'newly-discovered,' or 'newly-subdued.' Cf. 20. 3 *Britanniae nova pars*.

§ 5. **secunda**: used in different senses with *tempestate* and *fama* in accordance with Tacitus' love of conciseness.

Trucculensem: unknown. Probably not far from the Firth of Forth.

unde goes closely with *lecto*. Tacitus, in trying to express himself concisely, combines two clauses qualifying *Trucculensem portum*: (1) *unde . . . latus legerat*; and (2) *quo . . . redierat*. But by contracting the first clause into the ablative absolute, he has only place for the first conjunction *unde*, and *quo* has to be mentally supplied as *eo* with *redierat*.

proximo . . . latere: i. e. the east and north coasts.

redierat: the pluperfect is noticeable. It must denote a time prior to *tenuit*, and so must refer to the 'turning back' rather than to the actual return, though of course the latter notion is implied.

XXXIX

§ 1. **moris**: cf. 33. 1.

excepit: the subject is *Domitianus*, which has (rather awkwardly) to be supplied from the clause preceding. We should have expected *Domitianus, ut ei . . . erat*, &c.

§ 2. **emptis**: the subject of this ablative absolute is the unexpressed antecedent of *quorum*. As for the facts, we read the same story of Caligula and may feel some doubts of its truth here. The campaign was in A. D. 83, and resulted in an extension of the frontier.

formarentur: subjunctive of 'reported speech.' It was a statement of the *derisores*.

at nunc, &c.: dependent upon *inerat conscientia*.

§ 3. **studia fori et civilium artium decus**: these are expressive terms for 'eloquence' and 'politics.' *studia* gives the idea of the keen rivalry of the law courts; *decus* that of the honourable standing of the senatorial politician.

utcumque: here an adverb 'somehow or other.' The only classical use of the word is as a conjunction 'in whatever way.'

dissimulari: cf. on 6. 2 *dissimulationem*.

imperatoriam . . . esse, 'was an imperial quality,' i.e. should belong to the Emperor alone. A corollary of this would be that the possessor of pre-eminent military genius might aspire to the empire: Vespasian's own rise would be before the mind of his son Domitian.

§ 4. **secreto suo satiatus**: i.e. not giving vent to his displeasure, but cherishing a secret malice. *suo*, emphatic, 'his usual.' The words explain *optimum statuit reponere odium.*

nam etiam tum, &c.: as long as Agricola continued in command of his province, his reputation and popularity would not be likely to decrease.

XL

§ 1. **triumphalia ornamenta**: i.e. the laurel wreath, the flowered tunic and gold-embroidered robe, and the state-chair. The 'triumph' itself belonged only to the Emperor as commander-in-chief and possessor of the *auspicia*.

inlustris statuae: a laurel-crowned statue in the forum was often added to the triumphal *insignia*.

opinionem, 'the suggestion.' *opinio* here = that which gives rise to an opinion.

maioribus, 'the more distinguished' (among the consulars).

§ 2. **ministeriis**: abstract for the concrete *ministris*. The theory that the Emperor was only *primus inter pares* led to the employment of freedmen in his personal service. This gave an absurdly great influence to men who, though clever enough, were quite out of sympathy with Roman traditions, and exercised a disastrous influence on the mind of the Emperor.

dabatur, 'was offered.' The offer, we gather, was to be an inducement to Agricola to leave Britain, and was to be withheld if he had already left it.

sive verum, &c.: viz. the current story just related.

ex ingenio, 'to suit the character.'

§ 3. **tradiderat,** &c. Cf. Introduction, 'Agricola and Domitian.'

celebritate et frequentia. Synonyms. Cf. *tranquillitatem atque otium* below, and see note on 13. 3 *et in rempublicam*, &c.

officio, 'the attention.'

inmixtus est: passive not middle. The Emperor's studied neglect relegated him at once to the undistinguished crowd of courtiers.

§ 4. **grave inter otiosos,** 'unpopular with civilians.'

hausit: cf. 4. 4, where, however, the phrase is less bold.

cultu, 'his style of living.'

uno aut altero: notice the simple ablative of accompaniment with *comitatus*.

magnos viros: i.e. *magnitudinem virorum.*

ambitionem, 'display,' especially used of a large retinue of followers.

aspecto denotes closer attention than *viso.*

interpretarentur, 'gave the true explanation,' viz. that real greatness is compatible with a modest deportment.

XLI

§ 1. **absens,** &c.: i.e. not by legal procedure, but by whispered insinuations in Domitian's ear. The repeated *absens* lays a bitter emphasis on the arbitrary nature of Domitian's rule.

laesi cuiusquam, infensus . . . princeps: the stress of meaning falls on the participle or adjective, and should be brought out in English by means of two nouns, 'hurt done to any one,' 'hostility of the prince'; the Latin substantive being rendered in our English idiom by the dependent and defining substantive. Cf. 45. 4 *parentis erepti,* and note on 11. 2.

laudantes: used as a noun as *peccantes* in 4. 3; *servientium* 40. 3. Cf. Bacon, *Essayes,* 'Of Praise': 'Some Men are Praised Maliciously to their Hurt, therby to stirre Envie and Iealousie towards them ; *Pessimum genus Inimicorum laudantium.*'

§ 2. **et,** 'and indeed'; it adds a statement strongly confirmatory of the last sentence.

Moesia Daciaque: joined closely by *-que* as forming together one threatened part of the empire. The Dacians, under their king Decebalus, invaded Moesia in A.D. 85, and won two great victories in this year and the next. They were finally subdued about twenty years later by Trajan, whose campaigns are commemorated in his Column at Rome (a cast of it is in the South Kensington Museum).

Germania et Pannonia: the wars waged against the Marcomanni and the Quadi are referred to.

expugnati: *expugnare,* properly used of places, is often, as here, used of the garrisons. Cf. 22. 1. The frontier-posts along the Danube and between the Rhine and the Danube are meant.

ripa: i.e. of the Danube.

possessione, 'the retention of whole provinces.' Cf. 5. 3 *in ambiguo Britannia fuit.*

§ 3. **damnis**: dative.

expertum: passive.

§ 4. **optimus quisque**: a verb (e.g. *adhortabatur*) must be supplied from *exstimulabant.*

amore et fide: causal ablatives; 'from motives of loyal friendship' towards Agricola (or possibly, towards Domitian).

deterioribus: dative neuter.

vitiis aliorum: i.e. the *malignitas* and *livor* just mentioned, and the incompetence of other generals.

in ipsam gloriam: *ipsam*, to give point to the phrase—strange in this context—*praeceps agebatur*, 'he was being hurried headlong into—glory.'

XLII

§ 1. **annus:** this would be about twelve or thirteen years after the consulship, which Agricola held in A. D. 77.

Africae et Asiae: the two greatest prizes among the Senatorial provinces. They were awarded annually to the two senior consulars.

sortiretur: the subject is *Agricola*. The subjunctive is past jussive, 'he ought to have obtained.' Cf. note on 44. 2 *crederes*.

Civica: Civica Cerialis had been put to death by Domitian during his pro-consulate of Asia a year or two previously.

ultro: i.e. without waiting for Agricola to declare his own feelings.

§ 2. **occultius:** opposed to *non iam obscuri* below. Tacitus does not mean that their praise of a private life was obscure, but that their whole attitude was obscure, as they began by praising, &c. Cf. Cic. *Tusc.* iii. 34 *male reprehendunt*, 'they are wrong in blaming.'

adprobanda: *adprobare* means 'to win a person's approval of' something; in popular language, 'to make it all right with some one.'

obscuri: we should probably use an *adverb* here.

§ 3. **paratus simulatione,** 'ready with hypocrisy.' Ablative of accompaniment.

in adrogantiam compositus, 'assuming an air of haughtiness,' i.e. condescendingly making a favour of something which he himself really wanted.

beneficii invidia, 'the odiousness of the favour,' which was really inspired by envy.

proconsuli consulari: a governor, who had been consul, naturally ranked higher than one who had only been praetor. See Appendix A.

offensus non petitum: sc. *esse salarium*. The accusative and infinitive with *offensus* is on the analogy of this construction with *doleo*, *indignor*, *aegre fero*, &c. Cf. Suetonius, *Vesp.* 5 *succensens curam verrendis viis non adhibitam*.

ex conscientia: from his consciousness that people's suspicions in viewing it as a bribe would be correct, i.e. 'owing to his uneasy conscience.'

§ 4. **laeseris:** subjunctive of the indefinite second person.

quo obscurior, eo inrevocabilior, 'the more implacable for being masked.'

§ 5. **quibus,** &c.: such as the Stoics.

eo laudis excedere, quo, &c.: literally, 'attain to that degree of praise to which (*quo*), &c. Instead of ending with

a verb of motion like *excesserunt* or *pervenerunt*, which would better suit *quo per abrupta*, Tacitus has *inclaruerunt*, which sums up the general meaning of the sentence but does not suit *quo*. However, the phrase *quo . . . inclarescere*, though unusual, is borne out by such constructions as σωθῆναι εἰς in Greek.

plerique, 'many,' as so often in late Latin.

ambitiosa: cf. note on 29. 1.

XLIII

§ 1. **vulgus . . . et hic aliud agens populus:** *et* adds a second term explanatory of the first. *aliud agens*, 'busy with something else,' i. e. 'heedless.'

locuti sunt: i. e. about Agricola's death.

§ 2. **nihil comperti,** 'no ascertained proof.' The genitive is partitive.

principatus . . . visentis = *principum . . . visentium*.

illud: notice that it is not attracted to *cura*. Cf. 21. 3 *idque*. The reason may be that *illud* is emphatically the subject, 'that remarkable behaviour on his part.'

§ 3. **momenta,** 'crises.'

dispositos: i. e. along the road from Rome to Domitian's Alban villa, where he seems to have been staying at this time. Tr. 'relays of couriers.'

quae tristis audiret: *tristis* is the emphatic word, 'which he would be sad to hear.'

securus . . . odii: the genitive with *securus* is poetical. It depends on the noun-idea *cura* in the adjective.

et qui . . . dissimularet: an adjectival *qui*-clause co-ordinated with a preceding adjective is regularly in the consecutive subjunctive.

§ 4. **coheredem . . . scripsit:** i. e. he sacrificed a part to save the rest. Pliny (*Paneg.* 43), speaking of Domitian's rapacity, calls him *unus omnium, nunc quia scriptus, nunc quia non scriptus, heres*.

honore iudicioque: the latter word explains the former, 'a distinction and mark of esteem.' *iudicium* gets the meaning of a *favourable* judgement from its connexion with *honos*.

XLIV

§ 1. **tertium consule:** i. e. in A. D. 40. See Appendix A.

decumo kalendas Septembris: i. e. *decumo* (*die*) *ante kalendas Septembris*. This natural expression was replaced in current use by that of the text, or, more commonly, by the trajection of *ante*, *ante diem decumum kalendas Septembris*.

Collega Priscoque consulibus: i. e. A. D. 93. They were not consuls at the actual time of Agricola's death, but as *consules ordinarii* gave their name to the whole year.

§ 2. **decentior quam sublimior:** i.e. he was handsome, but not of commanding stature. For the idiom cf. note on 4. 5 *vehementius quam caute.*

nihil impetus, 'nothing passionate.' See Appendix A.

supererat: *superesse* means here not 'to be left over,' but 'to be present in abundance.' Cf. 46. 5.

crederes: to denote an action as possible, the present (potential) subjunctive can be used; e.g. *credas,* 'you would think.' In a retrospective view of this situation, the subjunctive is put into the past; e.g. *crederes,* 'you would have thought.' So in the other (jussive) use of the subjunctive in principal sentences; e.g. *maneat,* 'he is to remain' becomes retrospectively *maneret,* 'he was to remain,' 'he ought to have remained.'

§ 3. **integrae aetatis:** not partitive, but defining *medio spatio,* 'in mid career while his vigour was unimpaired.'

quantum ad gloriam: sc. *attinet.*

impleverat: in a pregnant sense, 'he had enjoyed to the full.' The connexion of ideas in §§ 3–4 seems to be as follows: His life was complete, though it was not a long one. He enjoyed to the full all the real blessings of life, which virtue alone can give; while of external advantages, rank and wealth, he possessed the first to the utmost of fortune's gifts; the second, to the utmost of his own desires. He had not to mourn the loss of wife or daughter, and he was saved by death from the evils to come.

§ 4. **speciosae (opes)** = a respectable fortune. See Appendix A.

filia . . . superstitibus, &c., 'as his wife and daughter survived him, he may be even accounted blest in having escaped the future while his position was still unimpaired,' &c. The place of the ablative absolute phrase at the head of the sentence marks it as the one indispensable condition which allowed Agricola to be esteemed 'blest' in virtue of the circumstances of his death.

§ 5. **quod . . . ominabatur,** 'an event which he used to foretell and pray for.'

tulit: sc. *nobis.*

evasisse: sc. *eum.* Subject to *tulit.*

spiramenta, 'breathing spaces,' 'pauses.'

velut uno ictu: Tacitus is perhaps thinking of Caligula's wish that the Roman people had but one neck, which he might sever at a blow.

XLV

§ 1. **obsessam curiam:** similar intimidation was practised by Pompey at the trial of Milo, and by Nero at that of Thrasea.

consularium: e.g. Civica Cerialis, Sallustius Lucullus (Agricola's successor in Britain), Junius Rusticus (cf. 2. 1), and others mentioned by Suetonius (*Domit.* 10).

feminarum: among others Arria, the wife, and Fannia, the daughter of Thrasea.

exilia: i.e. after trial; *fugas*, to escape trial. Or the latter word may merely include the forms of banishment which were not so severe as *exilium*.

Carus Metius: an informer, who accused Senecio and Fannia. He was put to death by Trajan.

una . . . victoria . . . censebatur, 'took rank, i.e. was distinguished by only one successful accusation.' Ablative of price, derived from that of instrument and means. Cf. Martial, *Epigrams*, i. 61. 3 *censetur Apona Livio suo tellus.*

intra: emphatic, 'not beyond.'

Albanam arcem: cf. note on *dispositos*, 43. 3. *Arx*, as being the stronghold of tyranny.

Messalini: L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus, the blind informer, the *grande et conspicuum nostro quoque tempore monstrum* of Juvenal (iv. 115 seqq.).

Massa Baebius tum reus erat: and therefore not dangerous when Agricola died. He was accused by Pliny and Senecio for misconduct as procurator of Hispania Baetica.

nostrae . . . manus: i.e. the hands of senators. The Senate as a whole shared the shame of the one or two members who thus disgraced themselves.

divisimus: i.e. sent Rusticus to death, his brother Mauricus to exile. See Appendix A.

perfudit: figuratively.

§ 2. **videre et aspici**: i.e. to look on at the executions and meanwhile be watched by Domitian.

subscriberentur: i.e. were noted down as a charge, to which the informers would subscribe their names.

denotandis, &c.: dative with *sufficeret*. The meaning is that an angry glance from Domitian would set the informers to work.

rubor: Domitian had a naturally flushed countenance, which made a blush impossible.

§ 3. **Tu vero felix**, &c.: this passage is a reminiscence of Cic. *de Orat.* iii. 3 *Ego vero te, Crasse, cum vitae flore tum mortis opportunitate divino consilio et ortum et exstinctum esse arbitror.*

tamquam . . . donares: i.e. your fearless and ready acceptance of your approaching end as your 'fate' was, as it were, a gift of acquittal to the Emperor; or, 'you spoke of your "fate," as preserving the Emperor from the committal of the crime of murder.'

pro virili portione: *parte*, not *portione*, is the usual word in this phrase.

§ 4. **valetudini**: so we talk of tending a person's sickness, instead of the sick person himself. But the more correct Latin idiom prefers the concrete expression.

contigit: *contingit* with the infinitive (instead of *ut* and subjunctive) is very exceptional in classical prose.

figeremus: final subjunctive. The usual construction with *figere* is *in* with the ablative.

§ 5. **condicione**, 'by the circumstance,' i.e. 'in consequence of.'

ante quadrennium = *quadrennio ante.*

§ 6. **superfuere**: cf. 44. 2.

paucioribus: viz. than would have been the case had we (Tacitus and his wife) been present.

XLVI

Professor Gudeman says of this concluding chapter: 'This wonderful passage with its piercing tenderness and solemn eloquence is—we shrink from saying it—a veritable mosaic of stereotype ideas, characteristic of this particular kind of *epilogus* or *consolatio*.' The language of consolation still draws upon the same limited and stereotype ideas. Here are a few sentences from a letter written by Dr. Johnson to a friend who had lost his mother: 'The business of life summons us away from useless grief and calls us to the exercise of those virtues of which we are lamenting the deprivation. The greatest benefit which one friend can confer upon another is to guard and excite and elevate his virtues. This your mother will still perform, if you diligently preserve the memory of her life and of her death. . . . I cannot forbear to mention that neither reason nor revelation denies you to hope that you may increase her happiness by obeying her precepts, and that she may, in her present state, look with pleasure upon every act of virtue to which her instructions or example have contributed.'

§ 1. **si quis . . . locus**: Tacitus' hope of immortality is necessarily vague in the conflict of philosophical systems. He seems here to cling, rather despairingly, to the teaching of the Stoic Chrysippus, that the good alone lived after death. Below (*voces*) he hints at the possibility of communication between the survivors and the spirits of the departed. Cf. Byron, *Childe Harold*, Canto ii. 8.

quas neque lugeri neque plangi fas est, 'for which we may neither feel nor show regret.'

§ 2. **immortalibus**, 'lifelong.'

is . . . honos, ea . . . pietas: contrast with the unattracted *illud* in 43. 2.

§ 3. **praeceperim**: 'subjunctive of modesty,' a form of the potential subjunctive. The tense here is the aorist, which in this use does not differ appreciably in meaning from the present.

formam ac figuram: synonymous.

complectantur, 'holds fast to,' in their memories.

non quia . . . putem: subjunctive of rejected reason. The classical usage would rather require *non quo* or *non quod*. With *sed* the construction passes naturally into the form of an inde-

pendent statement, instead of proceeding with *quia* to introduce the real reason for *complectantur*.

marmore . . . finguntur: the ablative of material without *ex* is poetical and post-classical.

forma mentis aeterna: we generally emphasize a contrast by 'while' or 'whereas'; the Roman by means of asyndeton.

§ 4. **fama rerum:** ablative of means, 'through the glory of his achievements,' which will keep alive his memory.

Agricola . . . superstes erit: by the irony of fate Agricola's name has come very near oblivion. Besides Tacitus, one writer only—Dio Cassius—has mentioned it, and his notice is short and inaccurate.

The following paragraph has recently appeared in the *Antiquary* (October, 1900): 'It is reported from Chester that a piece of lead-piping has been unearthed bearing the inscription *Cnaeus Julius Agricola*, and is supposed to be piping used for conveying water to the Roman camp about the year A. D. 79, when Agricola governed the Roman province of Britain. It is stated that this is the only inscription extant which bears the name of Agricola.'

EXERCISES

THE exercises give practice in the vocabulary and constructions occurring in the specified chapters or in the notes to them, and particularly in the construction mentioned at the head of each exercise.

I. (Chaps. I–IV.)

Infinitive, Gerund, and Gerundive.

Rusticus could [1] conscientiously praise Thrasea. For, though [2] praise of oneself [3] is a sign of conceit, praise of a virtuous friend is a mark of devotion. Nor was Rusticus led [4] to write Thrasea's life by partiality or interested motives, but because he thought him worthy [5] of being praised. Yet in the [6] desire of perpetuating the memory of his friend, he assailed the cruel times of Domitian [7] with more vigour than caution; and, although he seems deserving of excuse on account of his great virtues, he was put to death. No one, however [1] lacking in conscience, will deny that the Emperor [8] acted with extreme harshness against Rusticus. And indeed, not only Rusticus, but all the best and most intellectual men of those times perished by Domitian's cruelty, so that the Romans at length saw [9] to what extremes oppression could go.

[1] See note on 1. 2. [2] Infinitive. [3] *adrogantiae est.* [4] Cf. 1. 2. [5] See note on 1. 2. [6] *studium.* [7] See note on 4. 5. [8] Cf. 2. 1 impersonal use of *saevire.* [9] Cf. 2. 3.

II. (Chaps. V–VIII.)

Participles.

Fearing that her son might be spoilt by the attractions of the city, his mother, a woman of great prudence, determined

to send him to Marseilles, [1] and chose two slaves [2] to accompany him. However, [3] as he was starting, the news [4] of his father's death and the defeat of the legion was brought to him. Changing his plan, he set out at once to the army. For the desire of a soldier's fame was so keen in this youth, that he was [5] ready to purchase it at the cost of any risk or hardship. In Britain [6] he was so far from [7] making pleasure the prime object of life, that he actually courted dangers. Being shortly afterwards sent to reduce some mutinous soldiers to obedience, by [8] alternately threatening and exhorting, he brought them all back to their allegiance. Never before had leader and soldiers [9] regarded each other with such [8] mutual affection.

[1] You can use abl. abs. [2] Cf. 5. 1. [3] Participle. [4] Cf. 7. 3. [5] Cf. 6. 2. [6] *tantum aberat ut . . . ut*, &c. [7] *omnia ad voluptates referre*, cf. 5. 2. [8] See note on *invicem*, 6. 1. [9] Use simply *amare*.

III. (Chaps. IX–XII.)

'Quotiens,' 'ut qui,' Potential Subj., &c.

[1] On a general estimate the governor seems to have acted with great prudence in the administration of his province. [2] I cannot believe that he lowered his authority by [3] an excess of good-nature, as some assert; for [4] whenever the occasion demanded, he showed himself both dignified and severe. [5] At the same time, [6] when the claims of justice were discharged, he would put off the [6] official mask. There was, he used to say, [7] one time for business, another for recreation. Avarice also, to which so many previous governors had [8] yielded, [9] formed no part of his character.

On his return the king received him with marked distinction, [10] as the man who had first sailed round the whole province. Up to that time [11] it had not been satisfactorily ascertained what sort of people inhabited the extreme part of the island. He was now able to report that they were men with red hair and huge limbs. He said he had conquered them in battle, and [12] his bringing back several captives [13] bore out his statement.

[1] Cf. 11. 3. [2] Cf. 12. 7. [3] Use *nimius*. [4] Cf. note on 9. 3. [5] *idem* agreeing with subject. [6] Cf. 9. 3. [7] Use *alius . . . alius*. [8] *indulgere*. [9] *omnino deesse* [10] Cf. 11. 5. [11] Cf. 11. 1. [12] Cf. 11. 2 note on *posita Hispania*. [13] *fidem facere*.

IV. (Chaps. XIII–XVI.)

Oratio Obliqua.

Fired by these words the king [1]was meditating revolt, had not the death of the governor kept him loyal for a little longer. Presently seeing that the [2]only result of his forbearance was that the new governor [3]adopted still harsher measures against his subjects, carrying off their children and establishing garrisons throughout the land, he resolved at length to take up arms. '[4]Why (said he) do we put up with our wrongs any longer? Why do we fulfil the duties laid upon us by our cowardly conquerors? How few Romans are there now in Britain, if we Britons will only count ourselves and rival the valour of our ancestors? The enemy are [5]weakened by mutiny; their leader is leader only on sufferance. Let us at once attack the author of the hateful tribute. By one successful battle the whole province can be brought back to our authority. If the gods themselves pity us, we shall soon shake off the yoke.'

[1] Cf. 13. 4. [2] Cf. 15. 1. [3] *durius consulere*, 16. 2. [4] Turn into Orat. Obl. [5] Use *laborare*, cf. 16. 4.

V. (Chaps. XVII–XX.)

Participles.

The indolent Primus was unable any longer [1]to support the burden of government; [2]seeing that he was in the habit of transacting all public business by means of his freedmen and slaves. And indeed [3]*the elevation of Secundus* (who had been uniformly successful throughout a serious and lengthy war) *to share the throne* would have [4]been dangerous to the reputation of any one soever. Primus resolved therefore [5]to strike at the root of his alarm and attack Secundus, when, having disbanded his legions, [6]he was looking forward to a period of freedom from care. But as is usual in hastily-formed plans, he lacked both resource and decision. While he was waiting for an opportunity, Secundus, [7]collecting those whom he thought [8]likely to be most faithful, struck terror into him [9]by invading his territory [10]on his own account. [11]Bent on maintaining his prestige, he determined to spare no one, [12]but to punish every offence with the greatest severity.

[1] Cf. 17. 3. [2] *quippe qui*, cf. 18. 6. [3] Cf. 13. 5 for the words, and 11. 2 note for the participial construction. The clause in brackets had better come after the whole participial phrase. [4] Use *obruere*. [5] Cf. 19. 1. [6] Cf. 18. 1. [7] Omit the antecedent to the relative, cf 19. 4. [8] Cf. 19. 3. [9] Participle. [10] *ultro*. [11] Turn, 'thinking that he must,' &c.; cf. 18. 4. [12] Cf. 20. 2 note on *quominus*.

VI. (Chaps. xxi–xxvi.)

Temporal conjunctions.

Before the Governor left Britain he had given shelter to a certain chief, who had been driven from Ireland. He intended to keep this man in the camp [1]until he could restore him to his kingdom. But before [2] he made an expedition into Ireland, the Governor saw he must subdue the Caledonians. Accordingly he dispatched a fleet round the coast, which, however, [3]rather explored the harbours than actually conquered the barbarians in battle. Six months were spent by the Governor himself in establishing fortresses near the Clyde and Forth. [4]As soon as [5]the war was over he was considering a plan [6]for restoring the chief, [7]when he learns that the man had fled from the camp with the help of one of the sailors. But the latter, on being brought before the Governor, asserted that he would endure anything [3]rather than reveal [8]the hiding-place of the chief.

[1] Use subjunctive of purpose. [2] Subjunctive of purpose (as something intervenes *to prevent* the expedition). [3] See note on 25. 3. [4] *ubi primum* with aorist indic. [5] Cf. note on 24. 3. [6] Genitive. [7] Cf. 25. 3. [8] Turn by a clause of indirect question, 'whither the chief,' &c.

VII. (Chaps. xxvii–xxxi.)

Relative clauses.

There were some [1]who told the following story of a German cohort, which had landed on the coast for the purpose of procuring water. Thinking that the barbarians had been cowed by the issue of the former battle, they advanced carelessly, [2]as men who [3]had nothing to fear either from the valour or the strategy of the conquered enemy. But the Britons, having sent on their bravest men [4]to occupy a hill [5]overlooking the river, attack our men on the bank. [6]Although cut off in this manner, our men [7]abated nothing of their usual bravery, [8]seeing that slavery awaited them on the one hand and death on the other. The struggle lasted for four hours, nor was there any one who [9]wished to save his life [10]by surrender. At last, [11]when all hope of safety had gone and [12]they had reached such a pitch of helplessness that scarcely twenty could hold their weapons, two fresh cohorts arrived, sent [13]to their relief by the general, who had been alarmed by the long delay.

[1] See 28. 5 note. [2] Relative with causal subj. [3] Turn by gerundive. [4] Relative with final subj. [5] *imminens.* [6] Omit 'although.' [7] Cf. 27. 3. [8] 'whom slavery awaited,' &c.; causal. [9] Consecutive subj. [10] 'by surrendering himself.' [11] Cf. 31. 4. [12] Cf. 28. 3. [13] Dative of purpose.

VIII. (Chaps. xxxii–xxxvi.)

General.

The British chief is said to have spoken as follows: 'It is now five years that the Romans have been laying waste our country, slaughtering our countrymen and carrying off our children into slavery. Whether we are to avenge our wrongs, or endure them for ever, [1]depends on this battle. So unless you are [2]dissatisfied with your general, hear why I think we shall conquer and give a cheerful obedience to my commands. Firstly, we are fighting for our wives and children; [3]*and* when we see *them* near us in the battle, firing our courage with their war-chants, there will be none who can resist us. Then we are fighting for our own country, while the bands who are arrayed against us are fighting for an alien land; [4]*and* those who have brought *them* together from the most widely-sundered nations will find them in battle not soldiers but unwilling slaves. Hasten to your posts. Let our first line hold the middle of the plain, opening out their ranks to avoid a flank attack; and let the rest line the hills around, whence from [5]a position of vantage they may shower down their weapons [6]obliquely on the enemy.'

[1] Cf. 32. 5 note. [2] Cf. 33. 2. [3] 'whom when.' [4] Begin with double relative. [5] *editiora loca.* [6] Cf. 36. 3 end.

IX. (Chaps. xxxvii–xli.)

Constructions with 'ut.'

The night, [1]as was natural among victors, was spent in celebrating their victory with joyous songs. On the next day, to prevent the scattered enemy from collecting and attacking our men on the march, he sent out cavalry in all directions to scour the woods. These struck such terror into the barbarians that they left their hiding-places and made for the distant parts of the country. But when the general saw that the further he advanced from the province [2]the wider became the area of his operations, he resolved to take his legions into winter-quarters. This plan, [3]while seeming necessary to some of the officers, was displeasing to others. [4]They argued, [5]each according to his natural bent, [6]on the one hand, that the war should be brought at once to an end, on the other, that if they advanced now too confidently [7]a great disaster might result. Meanwhile a messenger had been sent by the emperor with orders [8]for the army to return to Britain.

[1] Cf. 11. 1. [2] Cf. 18. 2. [3] *ut . . . ita.* [4] *disserentibus* continuing the construction of the last sentence. [5] Cf 37. 3 [6] Mark the contrast by *hi . . . illi* in the appropriate case. [7] Cf. 37. 4. [8] Cf. 40. 2.

X. (Chaps. XLII–XLVI.)

Conditional sentences, dependent questions, 'quin,' &c.

If we believe Tacitus, there is no doubt that Agricola was a great man. Had he lived in former days, when merit received its [1] due acknowledgement, he would have been counted among the greatest generals of the state. And if he had been still living when Tacitus wrote, he would [2] doubtless have been honoured with the admiration and friendship of the illustrious Trajan himself. What then should prevent us from hoping that so great and good a man will be immortal?

Tacitus invites us to contemplate his virtues, [3] not because he thinks it possible for every one to emulate them, but because by imitating them we shall ourselves become better men. Let us then consider [4] the manner of Agricola's life under a bad prince, [5] the skill with which he conducted a long and difficult war, and [5] the moderation with which he accepted both good and bad fortune.

[1] *suus honos.* [2] *sine dubio* [3] Cf. 46. 3. [4] Turn by an indirect question, *quomodo*, &c. [5] 'with how great,' &c.

APPENDIX A

ON THE TEXT OF THE *AGRICOLA*.

THE text of the *Agricola*, as we have it in the only two[1] MSS. accessible to us, is very corrupt; that is, it contains a good deal that Tacitus could not possibly have written. The text as it is printed here has been made readable by the improvements of various scholars who, by an exact knowledge of Latin and of the peculiarities of Tacitus' style, and by careful consideration of the natural train of thought in the corrupt passages[2], have been able, with more or less probability, to correct the mistakes which the ignorance or over-acuteness of a copyist or his tired hand or eye or brain have occasioned. Many copies must have been made one from the other between the time when the *Agricola* was published in the first century to the time when our two MSS. were written in the fifteenth, and every time it was copied it is likely that the corruptions grew worse and worse, as it is harder to copy correctly what one does not understand than what one does understand.

The MSS. of the *Agricola* are both in the Vatican Library. We shall designate them (after Furneaux) as:

(1) Γ, copied by a distinguished scholar of the Renascence, Julius Pomponius Laetus (about A. D. 1428–1498), and containing in the margin numerous suggestions by himself or others for the improvement of the text.

(2) Δ (of about the same date), giving sometimes a better text and more correct spelling, but on the whole much inferior to Γ.

The general agreement of these MSS. makes it probable that they are both derived from the same original.

[1] Mr. Furneaux (in the *Classical Review* for June, 1899) mentions a third MS. at Toledo, which the authorities will not grant permission to collate.

[2] Prof. Morsbach of Göttingen found in his copy of Byron's *Prisoner of Chillon* the following lines:—

'And thus together, yet apart,
Fettered in hand, but pined in heart,' &c.

He guessed there was a printer's error (as was the case), and suggested the correction. What is it?

The letter P is used to designate the earliest printed text (of about the same date as the MSS.)—that of Franciscus Puteolanus. It contains several emendations and also several errors. It is thought to have no independent value, but to be a transcript from the same MS. as Γ.

The text adopted is in the main that of Halm, but occasionally the readings of other editors have been preferred.

1. 4. **incusaturus, &c.**: *ni cursaturus . . . tempora*. P. 'were I not going to treat of such cruel times.' But this is obviously not the reason why Tacitus asks for indulgence.

With *incusaturus* there still remains a difficulty of punctuation. Some editions make no stop at *incusaturus*, 'had I been going to accuse such cruel times.' The objection to this reading is that Tacitus *does* go on to accuse the times. Perhaps it is fair to reply that the accusation of the times is only incidental, as Tacitus' main object in this work was to show how a good man could live even in such times. But the reading adopted is less open to objection. See note.

2. 1. **Legimus**: it is objected to this reading that Tacitus would not have to refer to records for such recent and notorious events. Hence Gantrelle proposes *exegimus* going with the preceding sentence *tam . . . tempora*. This involves the further change of *fuisse* to *fuit*. This reading gives good sense, but is too violent a change, and is not necessary. 'It is not the fact that these men were executed, but the definite and formal charge against them, that Tacitus thus desires to place beyond question' (Furneaux).

3. 1. **set**: *et* MSS., the *s* being lost through confusion with the last letter of *animus*. This omission of one of two similar letters or combinations of letters is called 'haplography.' If *et* is kept, it must be taken as 'and *yet*,' which it sometimes means.

5. 3. **exercitatior**, 'more distracted'; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 9. 31. But as Tacitus elsewhere uses *exercitus* in the sense of 'practised,' cf. 36. 1, it is proposed to read *excitatior* here.

6. 4. **medio moderationis**: Gudeman; *modo rationis* P.; but *ratio* can hardly be used in the definite sense of economy. Δ has *medio*, and the first part of *moderationis* might easily have been lost after *medio* (haplography).

11. 4. **ac superstitionum persuasiones**: *eorum sacra deprehendas superstitionum persuasione* MSS.; the objection to which is, that rites are not inferred from beliefs, but the reverse.

ac is inserted by Prof. Gudeman, as Tacitus does not elsewhere interpose a verb between the members of such an asyndeton. *persuasiones* Glück. The *s* might have easily been dropped before *sermo*.

12. 1. **distrahuntur**: *trahuntur* MSS. But the simple verb would need some such determinative, as *in factiones*, to give the required sense.

13. 4. velox ingenio mobili paenitentiae: Γ; *mobilis paenitentia*, P., which Dräger adopts. Then *ingenio* and *paenitentia* are ablatives of 'respect.'

14. 2. ut haberet: Rhenanus; *ut vetere . . . haberet,* MSS. With this reading the subject of *haberet* is less easily supplied.

15. 2. manum: MSS. with correction to *manus* in Γ. In either case the apposition is awkward, and the word is perhaps a gloss or marginal explanation which has crept into the text. Meiser proposes *enim* for *manum.*

15. 5. plus impetus: MSS. It is objected that *impetus* and *constantia* are not likely to be found in the same persons. But it is not unlikely that the Britons would be made to claim both these desirable military qualities. Proposed corrections are:—

(1) *plus illis impetus* (Peerlkamp): *illis* = *Romanis*; but 'dash' is not a point in which a barbarian would care to recognize his own inferiority.

(2) *plus integris impetus* (adopted by Halm). This would mean 'an unvanquished tribe would have more dash, but the wretched greater fortitude'; which makes a good contrast in itself, but comes in awkwardly with the context.

16. 1. Boudicca: adopted from a reading in *Annals* xiv. 31. 3. Γ has *Voadicca.*

16. 2. propius: *proprius*: Rhenanus, 'personal,' referring to the ring-leaders, who would feel themselves specially marked out for punishment.

16. 5. pacti, &c.: Γ. Halm reads *velut pacti . . . salutem esset, seditio,* &c.

17. 3. sustinuitque: MSS. See note. The *-que* may point to the loss of a preceding verb, such as *subiit* or *suscepit.*

18. 5. dubiis: MSS. *subitis* Gronovius, adopted by Halm and Furneaux.

19. 4. ac ludere: MSS. with note of corruption in Γ. The best of the proposed corrections is *auctiore* Urlichs, which Dräger adopts.

20. 3. sunt tanta: Bährens; *et tanta* MSS. A contraction of *sunt* to *s̄t* may have been corrupted to *et.*

pariter: inserted by Frölich. It might easily have dropped out after *pars.*

22. 1. Tanaum: MSS. Γ has *Taum* in margin, which some editors adopt, understanding by it the Tay. But Agricola cannot have advanced so far in this campaign.

24. 1. nave prima: MSS. No very certain meaning can be got out of these words. If we keep the text, we may take *prima*

(1) as adj., though its emphatic position after instead of before *nave* is against this. It means then either 'the first Roman ship,' 'the leading ship,' 'the first ship of the year,' or, as Prof. Gudeman suggests, the adj. may give the same meaning as the adverb *primum.*

(2) as adverb (neuter plural) = 'as regards the first part of the journey' (Haverfield).

24. 2. differunt; melius: Rhenanus; *differt; in melius* MSS. The plural seems necessary with the closely connected subjects *ingenia cultusque*. *differunt in melius*, which some editors adopt, 'differ (from Britain) for the better' is not a likely expression, and *in melius* is thought by Prof. Gudeman to be the gloss of a patriotic Irish scribe.

Others assume a lacuna and suggest *in(teriora parum), melius*, &c., 'the interior is little known, the harbours, &c., better known.'

27. 3. victos: not in MSS. Inserted as necessary by Lipsius and generally adopted.

28. 2. retro remigante: Prof. Gudeman supplies *retro*, which is necessary to make sense of the MSS. reading *remigante*.

Other emendations are on the assumption that the *re-* means 'back again,' and deal with the last part of the verb, *renavigante*, *remeante*, &c.

28. 3. ad aquandum . . . plerisque: Halm, for the MSS. *ad aquam atque ut illa raptis secum plerisque*. The passage is hopelessly mutilated, but perhaps *utilia* (Selling) (cf. Sallust, *Jug.* 86. 1 *utilia* = supplies) is certain.

30. 5. atque: *atqui*, Rhenanus, adopted by Dräger. *atqui* = *at* or *at enim* states an objection to the view just expressed. 'Yes, but the unknown is always imposing.' The answer to this objection is given in *sed nunc*, &c.

31. 5. in libertatem, non in paenitentiam bellaturi: *bellaturi* is an emendation of Kochs for MSS. *laturi*. The objection to it is that *bellare in aliquid* naturally means to 'fight *against*.' A further change of *paenitentiam* to *patientiam* is commonly adopted. This makes a better antithesis to *libertatem*, 'to secure liberty—not servitude,' but is not necessary.

bellaturis, (sc. *Romanis*), Peter, dat. of indirect object with *ostendamus* allows *bellare in* to have its natural sense: 'let us show to the Romans, who will be fighting against liberty and not slavery' (i.e. against free men and not against slaves).

33. 5. ita: *item* MSS., which Prof. Gudeman thinks is a mere repetition of the last letters of *frontem*. This mistake is called 'dittography.'

34. 1. ceterorum: to avoid the Graecism (see note) Bährens transposes this after *ideoque*, where it goes in its ordinary sense with *superstites*.

34. 3. et extremus metus corpora defixere: *et extremo metu corpora defixere aciem* MSS. Prof. Gudeman thinks that *et* indicates that another nominative was joined to *novissimae res* and that *aciem* is a gloss on *corpora*.

Another line of emendation keeps *et extremo metu* and turns *corpora* into a nominative, *torpor*, which also gives a good sense.

36. 3. minimeque . . . instantes: emended by Anquetil and

Schoemann. *minimeque equestres: ea* (corrected to *ei* in Γ) *enim pugnae facies erat, cum egra diu aut stante* MSS.

The first part of this hopelessly corrupt passage has been emended also (with a slighter change) into *minimeque equestris ei pugnae facies erat, enim* being omitted as having arisen by dittography from *ei*. The latter part has also been variously emended.

38. 1. aliqua: omitted by Classen and Halm as a dittography of *aliquando*.

41. 3. ceterorum: Grotius. *eorum* MSS., which implies a lacuna, filled up by Halm with *quibus exercitus committi solerent.*

42. 3. se excusantis: MSS. omit *se*, which Gudeman supplies.

42. 3. proconsuli consulari: Mommsen; *proconsulari*, Γ, which has been emended to *proconsulare*, agreeing with *salarium*. But this would imply that there was a fixed proconsular salary for all proconsulars alike.

44. 1. tertium: *ter* MSS. **quarto**: *sexto* MSS. We know the year of Agricola's death to have been A.D. 93, so that MSS. *sexto* must be wrong if *tertium* from MSS. *ter* is right. If *ter* is a corruption of *iterum* (Nipperdey), then for *sexto* we must read *quinto*.

44. 2. impetus Γ. *metus* Γ margin. Δ has *metus et impetus*, which Constans retains with change of *et* to *aut* and translates 'no timidity or arrogance.' Others reading *metus* alone translate 'nothing terrifying.'

Both the readings of Γ probably arose from one indistinctly written word in an earlier MS. But while in Γ they have been kept apart as alternatives, in Δ they have both been incorporated in the text.

44. 4. speciosae contigerant: MSS. insert *non*, but a marginal note in Γ rejects it. The reading adopted makes a better contrast with *nimiis*, if *speciosae* can mean 'respectable' (as well as 'splendid').

44. 5. ei non licuit: inserted by Dahl and Halm. The MSS. omit it. Some such insertion seems necessary.

45. 1. Mauricum Rusticumque divisimus: a marginal reading of Γ for MSS. *Maurici Rusticique visus*. With MSS. reading, a verb like *adflixit* must be supplied from *perfudit*, which makes an extremely harsh zeugma. If with Dräger we supply *pudore*, the double use of *perfudit* (*perfudit pudore, perfudit sanguine*) is still very harsh. *Divisimus* on the other hand is a very forcible expression from its restrained pathos.

46. 2. similitudine colamus: *militum* (*multum* Δ) *decoramus* MSS. *Similitudine* Grotius. *Colamus* Muretus.

APPENDIX B

MILITARY WORDS AND PHRASES USED IN THE *AGRICOLA*.

1. *The levy.*
   - **contrahere exercitum** (20. 2), to raise an army.
   - **delectum agere** (7. 5), to hold a levy.
   - **sacramentum** (7. 5), the military oath.
2. *The camp.*
   - **agere** (18. 2), used without object, 'to be on duty,' 'be posted.'
   - **castrorum rudimenta** (5. 1), military apprenticeship.
   - **commeatus** (5. 1), leave of absence. (The word also means 'supplies,' 'commissariat.')
   - **contubernium** (5. 1), mess-companionship. In reference to the general, staff-appointment.
   - **in hibernis locare** (38. 4), to settle in winter-quarters.
   - **aquari** (28. 3), to get water. Cf. *frumentari*, *pabulari*.
3. *Troops.*
   - **ala** (18. 2), a body of auxiliary cavalry. (Under the Republic it meant the allied troops in general, who were posted on the wings.)
   - **auxilia** (18. 5), auxiliary troops. Under the Empire these were non-Italian contingents, chiefly light-armed.
   - **cohors** (36. 1), cohort. There were ten cohorts in a legion.
   - **covinnarius** (36. 3), a man who fought from a *covinnus* or war-chariot. The *covinnus* seems sometimes to have been armed with scythes. From the fact that the name *covinnus* was given to a Roman travelling carriage, open only in front and driven from inside by the traveller himself, we may assume that the war-chariot of the Britons was of this description and that the *covinnarius*—unlike the Homeric warrior—was unattended.
   - **exploratores** (26. 2), scouts.
   - **legio**, a legion, consisting of ten cohorts and sixty centuries—in all between 5,000 and 6,000 men. As two or more legions often had the same number, it is important to

note the distinguishing names. The following are the legions which served in Britain beween A.D. 43 and Agricola's recall :—

II. *Augusta*, quartered at *Isca* (Caerleon).

IX. *Hispana*, quartered first at *Lindum* (Lincoln) and afterwards at *Eburacum* (York).

XIV. *Gemina*, quartered at *Camulodunum* (Colchester), but withdrawn to serve against Civilis.

XX. *Valeria Victrix*, quartered at *Deva* (Chester).

II. *Adiutrix*, added by Vespasian and withdrawn by Domitian, probably succeeded the ninth legion at *Lindum*.

nauticus miles (25. 1), marines.

numeri (18. 3), bodies of troops attached to the legions but not included in them. (A post-classical term.)

veterani (5. 3), veterans, soldiers who had served their time. When on active service, they were called *vexillarii*.

vexilla (18. 3), detached corps, serving under a *vexillum*

vigiles (26. 1), sentries.

4. *Officers.*

centuriones (15. 3), centurions. There were sixty in each legion. The higher centurions were invited with the tribunes to the council of war, and on completing their term of service were often able to purchase equestrian rank for themselves.

legatus consularis (7. 5), the governor of an imperial province which was held by more than one legion.

legatus praetorius (7. 5), the governor of an imperial province held by one legion; or the commander of a single legion under a *legatus consularis*.

praeficere (with dat. 8. 2), to appoint to the command of.

praefectus (22. 4), the commander either of a cohort of auxiliaries (*praefectus cohortis*) or of a division of cavalry (*praefectus alae*). The latter was the higher post, and the two appointments, together with that of tribune of the legion, which was an intermediate step between them, formed the *equestres militiae*, or preliminary military service necessary for those who aspired to the crown of an equestrian career—the procuratorships and the important praefectures.

tribunatus (9. 1): see *praefectus*. There were six to each legion.

5. *War.*

ad manus et arma converti (25. 3), to resort to armed resistance.

amplecti (25. 1), to embrace in one's sphere of operations.

bellum spargere (poetical, 38. 3), to extend one's operations over a wide area.

bellum sumere (16. 1), to enter upon a war. The usual classical expression is *arma sumere* or *bellum suscipere*.
subita belli (37. 1), the surprises of war, emergencies.

6. *Engagement.*

ad arma discurrere (35. 1), to rush away and arm themselves.
aciem instruere (33. 1), to draw up one's line.
copias instruere (24. 1), to draw up one's forces.
disponere (35. 1), to arrange.
expugnare (16. 1), to storm.
diducere ordines (35. 4), to open out the ranks.
compositi firmis ordinibus (37. 5), in good order and with unbroken ranks.
complexus armorum (36. 1), a hand-to-hand grapple.
in arto pugna (36. 1), a fight at close quarters.
eminus certare (36. 1), to fight with missiles, deliver a volley.
magnam vim telorum superfundere (36. 1), to pour in a heavy fire.
excutere (36. 1), to parry.
rem ad mucrones ac manus adducere (36. 1), to charge (corresponding to our bayonet charge). *See note.*
erigere aciem (36. 2), to charge up hill.
transversos aut obvios incursare (36. 3), to take the enemy in flank or in front.
aversam aciem invadere (37. 2)
adsultare tergis (26. 2)
circumire terga (37. 1)
} to take the enemy in the rear.
in fugam disicere (37. 1), to throw into flight.
terga praestare (for usual *praebere*, *dare*, 37. 2), to turn tail, take to flight.
terga patefacere occasioni (14. 4), to leave one's rear open to a surprise. *See note.*
vestigiis insequi (26. 2), to follow up.
persultare silvas (37. 4), to scour the woods.
prospera pugna (13. 2), a successful engagement.
laureatae (sc. *litterae*, 18. 7) a despatch announcing victory.

APPENDIX C

INSCRIPTIONS ILLUSTRATING THE *AGRICOLA* AND THE ROMAN OCCUPATION OF BRITAIN.

[W. = Wilmanns (*Exempla Inscriptionum Latinarum*).
C.I.L. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*]

1. (W. 64.)

libertati ab imp Nerva Caesare Aug anno ab
urbe condita DCCCXXXXIIX . XIIII K Oct[1]
restitutae s p q R.[2]

Found in the Capitol at Rome. Cf. *Agr.* 3. 1.

[1] *A. d. XIV Kal. Oct.* [2] *Senatus populusque Romanus.*

2. (W. 899 *a.*)

Ti Claudio Drusi f Caisari Augusto Germanico
pontifici maximo trib potestat $\overline{\text{XI}}$[1] cos[2] $\overline{\text{V}}$ imp
XXI patri patriai senatus populusque Romanus
quod reges Britanniai XI devictos sine ulla
iactura in deditionem acceperit gentesque
barbaras trans oceanum primus in dicionem
populi Romani redegerit.

From the Arch of Claudius, erected c. 51 A.D. Cf. *Agr.* 13. 5.

[1] *Tribunicia potestate undecimum* (for the eleventh time). [2] *Consuli.*

3. (*C. I. L.* viii. 156.)

C . MANNIVS	Caius Mannius
C . F . POL . SECV	Cai filius Pollia (tribu) Secu
NDVS . POLLEN	ndus Pollentia

MIL . LEG . $\overline{\text{XX}}$	miles legionis vicesimae
ANORV . LII	annorum LII
STIP . XXXI	stipendiorum XXXI
BEN . LEG PR	beneficiarius legati praetorii
H . S . E .	hic sepultus est.

Found near Shrewsbury. Cf. *Agr.* 19. 2.

Notice the order of the *tria nomina* on an inscription. The tribe is put after the 'filiation' and before the cognomen. *Pollentia* (abl.) denotes his native place.

4. (*C. I. L.* vii. 131.)

D M[1]

IVL . NVNDINAE

VIXIT . AN . XXX

AGRIVS CIMARVS

CONIVNX PIISSIMVS[2]

F . C[3]

Found at Caerleon upon Usk (*Isca Silurum*).

[1] *Dis manibus.* [2] *Pientissimus* is also very common in inscriptions. [3] *Faciendum curavit.*

5. (*C. I. L.* vii. 642.)

DEO

SILVANO

COCIDIO

QV FLORIVS

MATERNVS

PRAEF COH[1]

$\overline{\text{I}}$ TVNG

V S L M[2]

Found on an altar at one of the stations along Hadrian's wall. Cf. *Agr.* 36. 1.

[1] *Praefectus cohortis primae Tungrorum.* [2] *Votum solvit libens merito.*

6. (*C. I. L.* vii. 18.)

. . . . . [NEP]TV[NO]
ARAM
C . AVFIDIV[S]
PANTERA
PRAEFECT
CLAS . BRIT [1]

Found at Lymne in Kent, formerly a seaport, now inland. Cf. *Agr.* 38. 4.

[1] *classis Britannicae.*

7. (*C. I. L.* vii. 312.)

VEX [1] . LEG	vexillatio legionis
XX VV	vicesimae Valeriae Victricis
REFEC	refecit

Found at Whitley.

1. *vexillatio*, a detachment united under a *vexillum*. Cf. *Agr.* 18. 3.

8. (*C. I. L.* vii. 1201.)

TI . CLAVDIVS CAESAR AVG . P . M [1]
TRIB . P [2] . VIIII . IMP . XVI . DE BRITAN [3]

Found on a pig of lead got from a mine in the Mendips. Cf. *Agr.* 31. 3.

[1] *Pontifex Maximus.* [2] *Tribunicia potestate.* [3] *de Britannicis (fodinis).*

9. (*C. I. L.* vi. 1364.)

Q . CAERELLIVS Q . F .
QVI [1]. III VIR CAP [2]. QVAE .
PRO PR. [3]. TR . PL . LEGATO [4]

[1] *Quirina (tribu).* [2] One of the offices of the Vigintivirate. Cf. *Agr.* 2. 1, note. [3] *Quaestor pro praetore* (attached to a senatorial proconsular governor. Cf. note on 9. 5 *procuratores*). [4] A stone

PRO PR . TER . PR[5]. PRAEF .
FRVM . EX S . C[6]. S[7].
LEG . TI . CAESARIS AVG .
PROCOS .
EX TESTAMENTO .

Found at Rome. This inscription illustrates the senatorial *cursus honorum*; cf. Introd. for Tacitus' own career. Caerellius begins with the Vigintivirate (which with the military tribunate qualified for election to the Quaestorship) and ends as Proconsul.

N.B. The honours are enumerated in the *ascending* order. The reverse order is very often found.

cutter's error for *legatus*. [5] *Praetor.* [6] *Praefectus frumenti* (*dandi*) *ex senatus consulto* (a praetorian or aedilician function). [7] This letter is superfluous.

10. (*C. I. L.* xii. 5842.)

VASIENS . VOC[1].
PATRONO
SEX . AFRANIO SEX . F .
VOLT[2]. BVRRO
TRIB . MIL . PROC . AVGV
STAE[3]. PROC . TI . CAESAR .
PROC . DIVI CLAVDI
PRAEF . PRA[E]TORI[4] ORNA
M[ENT]IS CONSVLAR[5].

Found on a pedestal at Vaison (Vasio) in Narbonensis. It gives the career of Nero's minister Burrus, and illustrates the Equestrian *cursus honorum*. (Cf. *Agr.* 4. 1.) Burrus passed through the preliminary military service (*militiae equestres*, cf. note on *Agr.* v. 2) to the procuratorships and then to the highest of the praefectures. Cf. Appendix B, s. v. *praefectus*.

[1] *Vasienses Vocontii* (subject of the verb *posuerunt* understood). [2] *Voltinia tribu.* [3] i. e. Livia, mother of Tiberius. [4] *praefectus praetorio.* [5] *consularibus.* Cf. *Agr.* 40. 1 for the bestowal of *insignia* on persons not eligible for the full honour.

11. (*C. I. L.* vii. 1093.)

FORTVNAE
VEXILLA
TIONES[1]
LEG . $\overline{\text{II}}$ AUG[2]
LEG . $\overline{\text{VI}}$ VIC[3].
P . S . P . L . L[4]



Roman Altar of Fortune.

Found at Castlecary, on the line of Antonine's wall.

[1] *vexillationes.* Cf. note on Inscr. 7. [2] See Appendix B, s. v. *legio.* [3] *victricis.* The *legio $\overline{vi}$ victrix* came into Britain in Hadrian's reign. [4] *pro salute posuerunt laeti libentes.*

12. (*C. I. L.* vii. 1099.)

IMP . CAES . T . AEL . ANT[1].
AVG . PIO P . P[2]
COH I[3] TVNGRO
RVM FECIT[4].



INSCRIPTION ON THE WALL OF ANTONINE

Found at Castlecary, on the line of Antonine's wall.

[1] *Tito Aelio Antonino.* [2] *patri patriae.* [3] Cf. Inscr. 5. *Cohors* is here the subject. [4] The symbol (? M) which follows *fecit* may denote the amount of wall (*mille passus*) constructed by this cohort.

13. (From Scarth's *Roman Britain*, p. 250.)

(1) **T . IVNIANI THALASER[1]**
AD CLARITATEM[2].

(2) **T . IVNIANI CRSOMAEL**
INVM[1] AD CLARITATEM .

(3) **T . IVNIANI D[IOXS]VM[1]**
AD VETERES CICATRICES .

Found at Bath. Inscriptions on three of the four sides of an oculist's stamp. The fourth inscription seems to be partly illegible, and is not given.

[1] Names of medicines. The second is probably *chrysomaelinum*, a kind of 'golden ointment.' [2] 'For clearness of sight.'

14. (In Anglo-Roman room of British Museum.)

IMP . CAES . TRAI
ANVS HADRIANVS
AVG . P . M[1]. TR . P[2].
P . P[3]. COS . III[4]
A KANOVIO
M . P[5]. VIII .

Inscription on a milestone.

[1] *Pontifex Maximus.* Cf. note on *Agr.* 9. 7. [2] *tribunicia potestate.* [3] *pater patriae.* [4] Hadrian was consul for the third time, and enjoyed the tribunician power for the third year in A.D. 119. [5] *milia passuum.*

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SUBJECT-MATTER

OXFORD: HORACE HART
PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY